

Knowledge for action

# Annual Report 2008

The French Institute of International Relations



# Contents

Message from the President	page 2
France's Leading Independent Think Tank	page 4
<i>Ifri Brussels</i> , a European purpose and presence	page 5
Ifri Research – 2008 Programs	page 6
Publications in 2008	page 9
In 2008, Ifri notably hosted...	page 10
Ifri and the media: a permanent dialogue	page 12
Ifri and its partners	page 13
World Policy Conference, First Edition	page 17
Research	page 21
Thierry de Montbrial	page 22
Regional programs	page 23
Cross-cutting programs	page 42
Publications	page 53
Conferences and debates	page 57
Team	page 60
Board of Directors and Advisory Board	page 61
Financial Appendix	page 62

# Message from the President

In 2008, Ifri further strengthened its position as the leading French international think tank and secured its place among the world's top ten of its kind outside of the United States. Our development strategy rests on our high quality *programs*, which cover an ever widening spectrum as can be seen in our past annual reports. We have made remarkable progress in developing our European expertise thanks to Ifri Brussels, located in the European capital.



Geographically, our programs cover the European Union and the United States; Russia and the Newly Independent States that emerged from the fall of the USSR; Asia, particularly Japan, China, India and Korea; the African continent, notably North and Sub-Saharan Africa; and the Middle East, in particular Turkey and Iran. Our cross-cutting programs address classic yet fundamental issues such as security and the international economy, and are extending to areas such as energy geopolitics, demographics (notably migration) and space, as well as to new domains such as health, the environment and sport. The quality of these programs depends on a *strong team of permanent researchers* who build support and develop *networks* whose richness and diversity benefit all of Ifri's partners. Although the strategic choice of having such a high caliber team certainly consumes a significant part of our budget, it largely distinguishes us from other French thinks tanks, which often get their expertise from outside sources. Based on the example set by our American counterparts, Ifri has been able to attract the most qualified and seasoned experts. Thus, in 2008, William Ramsay, the former Deputy Executive Director of the International Energy Agency, became director of our "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program. In addition, last year, Jacques Mistral, University Professor and former Economic Advisor at the French Embassy in Washington, took over our "Economic Studies" program.

More than ever, Ifri ascertains itself as a policy oriented research and debate institute, whose relevance partly rests upon diverse global networks. In line with this goal, Ifri organizes numerous debates and international conferences and releases various publications. The format of these activities is constantly adapting in order to respond to our audience's expectations. To this end, we are in the process of significantly upgrading our website.

Among the numerous successful initiatives that Ifri undertook in 2008, which this report presents, the most ambitious was the *World Policy Conference* (WPC) held in Évian, France, from October 6 to 8. Its success had global impact. Readers can visit [www.worldpolicyconference.com](http://www.worldpolicyconference.com) for more in-depth information on the structure and content of that event. The fundamental ideas behind the WPC include the important role that states play (contrary to globalization dogma) as well as the absolute need for a new global governance structure adapted to 21<sup>st</sup> century realities, since the foundation of today's architecture stems from the end of the Second World War. When I decided to launch this initiative,

those ideas were anything but ordinary. In our mind, the Évian conference is the starting point for a major program through which we hope to contribute to that reconstruction process that will, in any event, be lengthy.

As I was finishing putting down on paper my *Perspectives for RAMSES 2009*, I wrote that it was no easier in 2008 to predict the evolution of the 21<sup>st</sup> century than it was in 1908 to foresee the two World Wars and their consequences, or to conceive of phenomena such as the Internet. I added: “Today, only one thing is certain: without the drastic and rapid adaptation of global governance, major global tragedies will be possible, and even likely to occur.” Those words were written on July 18, 2008. Since then, the financial and economic crises have taken a dramatic turn. The world is currently experiencing a phenomenon whose return seemed unthinkable even recently. Due notably to the actions of the G20, the probability of a major catastrophe has largely diminished, yet it remains a threat. Beyond the rescue plans that quite naturally should take priority in the short term, reconstructing global economic but also political (because it is all related) governance certainly remains the major task for the coming years.

It is now my pleasure to thank those people, from our institute and beyond, who have made our success in 2008 possible. An observer, but also a player in the global game, Ifri is not shielded from the turmoil that is affecting the vast majority of companies around the world. This goes to say how much we still expect from everyone who, in one way or another, has helped us become what we are today. In advance, I wish to express to them my deepest gratitude.

**Thierry de Montbrial**

Founder and President of Ifri

Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Thierry de Montbrial', with a horizontal line underneath.

# France's Leading Independent Think Tank

In 2008 for the second consecutive year, *Ifri* was the only French research institute listed among the top ten most influential think tanks in the world outside of the United States, according to a study published in the January 2009 issue of *Foreign Policy*. Conducted by a team of researchers at the University of Pennsylvania, the study entitled *The Think Tank Index* concerns around 5,500 institutes from 170 countries.



Created in 1979 and directed by Thierry de Montbrial, the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), France's leading independent think tank dedicated to the analysis of today's major international issues, is an integral part of the network of the world's most important institutes. Its goal is to bring together international players and analysts and to develop non-partisan and thorough research on today's most pressing issues.

Ifri's goals are to:

- foster interactive and constructive dialogue between researchers, professionals and opinion leaders from the public and private sectors and to create a framework for permanent interaction and debate;
- identify the major upcoming trends in the international system and offer insight into the future;
- interpret the impact of international developments on the business world and illuminate, through its diverse research programs, the decision-making process of political leaders, international negotiators and high-ranking representatives from both the public and private spheres;

- contribute, in particular, to the emergence of a new global governance.

Ifri is non-partisan and independent from all administrative and financial regulatory authorities. Its diverse funding sources allow it to maintain its independence.

## Policy Oriented Research

As a multidisciplinary research center, Ifri has a team of around forty French and international researchers from diverse backgrounds. More than half of them are less than 40 years old. They are forward thinking and believe in dialogue and open-mindedness. The Institute's experts are part of an international network and interact regularly with their foreign counterparts.

Ifri's policy oriented work focuses on politically strategic developments, in particular the various aspects of transatlantic relations; European construction; the global economy and globalization; security and proliferation issues; diverse regional approaches – Europe, the United States, Asia, the Middle East, Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS), and Africa – as well as global strategies: global governance, energy geopolitics, the environment, immigration, health and security issues, etc.

## Debates and Dialogue: Encouraging Diversity

The debates are organized in an informal and non-partisan framework, which encourages the development of close relationships between researchers and private as well as public decision-makers.

Since 1979, Ifri has organized more than 1,400 conferences, 130 international symposiums, and 450 meetings with prominent French and international figures. We have hosted numerous heads of state and government.

Over the last few years, Ifri has welcomed among others Hamid Karzai, Vladimir Putin, Jalal Talabani, Mikhail Saakashvili, Abdoulaye Wade, Viktor Yushchenko, Ion Iliescu, Vaclav Klaus, Ilham Aliiev, Mohammad Khatami, Stjepan Mesic, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Abdullah



Gül, Boris Tadic, Tassos Papadopoulos, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, and Pervez Musharraf.

## Publications and Research: Offering Keys to Understanding Current International Affairs

Ifri's research and debates are disseminated through the Institute's various collections as well as in top publications such as the quarterly journal *Politique étrangère*, France's oldest international relations journal, and the annual report *RAMSES*.

Ifri's website [Ifri.org](http://Ifri.org) is today the main means through which Ifri's debates, research and studies are made available. This rich resource provides access to Ifri's publications, policy papers and reports on the seminars, conferences, and meetings held at Ifri.

### In 2008, Ifri:

- had a turnover of more than 6 million euros, not counting exceptional resources;
- hosted 350 foreign and French experts and prominent figures;
- counted over 100 corporate members, 74 embassies and institutional members and 450 individual members;
- held 7 international conferences on major issues;
- held 62 conferences in Paris and 46 conferences and seminars in Brussels;
- had 10 researchers publish books;
- published 173 online articles, amongst which more than 65 policy papers.

# Ifri Brussels, a European Purpose and Presence

Through its *Ifri Brussels* office, open since March 2005 and located at the heart of the European Quarter, Ifri aims to enrich the European debate through a multidisciplinary approach covering all aspects of international relations. *Ifri Brussels* is an active interface between Paris and Brussels and contributes to the entire institute's development. Its goals are to:

- disseminate Ifri's work and research in Brussels, in particular on major European issues;
- foster debate on Europe in Paris by evaluating the perceptions and analysis of those involved in European construction;
- develop research activities particular to Ifri in Brussels.

## The *Ifri Brussels* Program

*Ifri Brussels* leads a series of weekly meetings called "*Ifri's Tuesdays*" recognized in the city for their timely and in-depth debates on EU

issues. Each year Ifri organizes high-level international conferences in Brussels on major European issues.

In 2008, *Ifri Brussels* organized more than 50 international conferences and seminars. Themes touched upon during those events included: *the European Union's energy policy – European space policy – Challenges for the French Presidency in 2008 – Relations between Russia and the EU – Franco-German relations – Strategic dialogue between the EU and Asia – European defense issues and NATO – Enlargement and the future of Europe – The future of the euro.*

*Ifri Brussels* hosted major figures such as *Javier Solana*, High Representative for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, *Jean-Pierre Jouyet*, Secretary of State for European Affairs in the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, as well as European Commissioners *Andris Piebalgs*, Commissioner for Energy, *Margot Wallström*,

Vice-President of the Commission and Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, *Olli Rehn*, Commissioner for Enlargement, *Jacques Barrot*, Vice-President of the Commission and Commissioner for Transport.

Ifri's experts also hold numerous seminars in Brussels within their given research program, for example the series on energy issues, "*Ifri Energy Breakfasts.*"

A collection of electronic policy papers, "*Europe. Visions,*" was launched in March 2008. It publishes reports by recognized experts on EU foreign policy, immigration policy, euro zone governance and issues surrounding the French Presidency of the European Union in 2008.



# Ifri Research 2008 Programs

Ifri's research programs are multidisciplinary and policy oriented.

## Regional Programs

### EUROPE

- **France-Germany**
  - Mutual perceptions
  - Europe's Franco-German engine

*Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)*

Program Director: HANS STARK

- **EU Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy**

*French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)*  
Ifri Coordinator: ÉLIANE MOSSÉ

- **French Presidency of the European Union**

Program Director: OLIVIER LOUIS

### RUSSIA/NIS

- Power systems in Eurasia
- Strategic partnership between Russia and the European Union
- Russian energy and foreign policies interaction
- Technological innovation and scientific research

*Russia/NIS Center*

Program Director: THOMAS GOMART

### ASIA

- **China Program**
    - The concept of a "harmonious society" and its implementation
    - China as an emerging power in the international systemProgram Directors: VALÉRIE NIQUET and HÉLÈNE LE BAIL
  - **India and South Asia Program**
    - The workings of the "Indian system"
    - India's emergence as a global power
    - Rapprochement between India and the European UnionProgram Director: OLIVIER LOUIS
  - **Japan Project – Franco-Japanese Dialogue**  
Program Directors: VALÉRIE NIQUET and CÉLINE PAJON
  - **Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies**  
Program Directors: FRANÇOISE NICOLAS and VALÉRIE NIQUET
  - **Chinese Direct Investments in Europe**  
Program Director: FRANÇOISE NICOLAS
  - **EU-East Asia Economic Relations**  
Program Director: FRANÇOISE NICOLAS
- Asia Center*  
Program Director: VALÉRIE NIQUET

### MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/MEDITERRANEAN

- **Middle East Program**
  - The reshaping of the Arab world in the wake of the US invasion of Iraq
  - Reform processes, notably democratization in the Arab worldProgram Director: DENIS BAUCHARD

- **North Africa Program**
  - Internal dynamics and governance
  - North Africa in international relations
  - Security in North Africa
  - Economic issuesProgram Director: KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN

- **Contemporary Turkey Program**
  - Contemporary Turkey Observatory
  - Dialogue with the European Union and France
  - Business dialogue
  - Media dialogueProgram Director: DOROTHÉE SCHMID

- **Iran Program**
  - The Islamic Republic's political system
  - Relations between Iran and the world's major powers
  - Energy issues (oil, gas)
  - Euro-Iranian relationsProgram Directors: DENIS BAUCHARD and CLÉMENT THERME

- **"Relations between the European Union, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa" Program**
  - Migrations and co-development in relations between North Africa, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa
  - Governance and types of political action in North Africa
  - Relations between North African and Sahelo-Saharan regions
  - EU, US and Chinese strategies: the case of North Africa
  - Regional economic integrationCoordinator: DOROTHÉE SCHMID

### AFRICA

- **Political and Social Transformations**
  - The evolution of the state in Sub-Saharan Africa
  - The rise of new ideologies
  - Africa in international relationsProgram Director: ALAIN ANTIL

### UNITED STATES

- **United States Program**  
Coordinators: JACQUES MISTRAL and LAURENCE NARDON
- **Transatlantic Relations Program**
  - Europe/United States's perception of each other
  - Dialogue on Russia's course (in cooperation with CSIS)
  - Dialogue on the European Union, enlargement and neighborhood policy
  - Dialogue on economic innovation and regulationScientific Coordinator: DOMINIQUE MOÏSI

## Cross-cutting Programs

### CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

- The evolution of conflicts
- Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
- Analysis of strategies and major security policies
- Evolution of force structures and methods of intervention

*Center for Security Studies*

Program Director: ÉTIENNE DE DURAND

#### • Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Military action: approaches to consider in the light of changes in the international context

Program Director: ÉTIENNE DE DURAND

### SPACE PROGRAM

- Monitoring of major space applications
- Space and security
- The exploration of the universe
- The big space powers: Europe, the US, Russia, Asia

Program Director: LAURENCE NARDON

### “EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY” PROGRAM

- Security of energy supply
- CO<sub>2</sub> and greenhouse gas emissions
- Decreasing hydrocarbon resources
- Political sociology of energy
- Technological capabilities and the impact of possible transformations

Program Director: WILLIAM RAMSAY

President of the Scientific Committee: JACQUES LESOURNE

## Ifri Brussels

*Ifri Brussels is an active interface between Paris and Brussels that contributes to the entire Institute's development. Its goals are to:*

- disseminate Ifri's work and research in Brussels, in particular on major European issues;
- foster the debate on Europe in Paris by evaluating the perceptions and analysis of those involved in European construction;
- develop research activities particular to Ifri in Brussels.

Program Director: SUSANNE NIES

### “ECONOMIC STUDIES” PROGRAM

- The economic and financial crisis
- Major emerging economies and the future of globalization
- Franco-German economic dialogue
- Telecommunications: innovation, competition and regulation

Program Director: JACQUES MISTRAL

### “MIGRATIONS, IDENTITIES AND CITIZENSHIP” PROGRAM

- New immigration policies in Europe
- The “crisis” of national integration models
- Institutional discrimination
- Migrations and development

Program Director: CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI

### HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT PROGRAM: “FROM SAFETY AND SECURITY ISSUES TO NEW GOVERNANCE OPTIONS?”

This program was launched in 2008 and its goals are to:

- study the effects of the *securitization* of environmental and health issues in terms of new governance systems and tools;
- analyze the effectiveness of the actions of different actors, through the empirical and comparative study of crisis cases.

Program Director: ALINE LEBŒUF

### SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*In partnership with the Institut Alain Danet*

The objective of this program is to analyze recent developments in the role played by sport as an element of international relations governance.

- State sport strategies
- Olympic movement and globalization
- Sport strategies of international organizations
- Globalization and major sport events
- Economic issues related to sport and development dynamics
- Sport as a domestic element of state governance
- New challenges to international sport in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Coordinator: VALÉRIE AMANT





## Politique étrangère

In 2008, the four issues of *Politique étrangère* focused on the year's major international issues and developments. The subjects addressed included: the transatlantic debate on the EU and its neighborhood – NATO before Bucharest (n° 1/2008) – China and the Olympic Games: domestic and foreign challenges – Pakistan and Afghanistan: at the heart of the crisis (n° 2/2008) – The US presidential elections – Greater Central Asia and political maneuvers (n° 3/2008) – Russia, its neighbours, and the West – Nuclear energy and the risk of proliferation (n° 4/2008). A special issue in English introduced the *World Policy Conference*, which was organized by Ifri in Évian, France, from October 6 to 8.

*"In these exceptional times, it is necessary to take a bird's eye view of the state of the world. The latest issue of Politique étrangère aims to do just that, by connecting the US elections and 'political maneuvers' in Greater Central Asia. Through an overview of the Bush years and a study of future US choices, the journal edited by Thierry de Montbrial (Ifri) upholds one conviction: 'The next American president, whatever his name, will turn to Europe first in order to get help, if possible, to leave behind the Iraqi, Afghan, and Iranian crises'."*

(Philippe Mabilbe, *La Tribune*, October 3, 2008)

Editor in chief: *Dominique David*



## RAMSES

Annual global report on the economic system and strategies

A collective work published each year under the direction of *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, *RAMSES* consecrated its 2009 edition to the theme of *Global Economic and Geopolitical Turmoil*. The introductory chapter by Thierry de Montbrial, "Perspectives," offers an overview of the year's international developments. At the end of 2008, he focused on the analysis of the new international system and its three most outstanding characteristics – multipolarity, heterogeneity and globality. Developments, break-ups and changes were then addressed in a seven-part scheme: the global economy, strategic issues, the Americas, Asia-Pacific, Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Russia. The collection's objective remains providing the tools that will help readers better understand tomorrow's world.

*"As the crisis in the Caucasus shows, the growing economic instability is generating increased competition over raw materials in a world characterized by the emergence of new powers. The following report has been carried out with the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), who released the 27<sup>th</sup> edition of its 'Annual global report on the economic system and strategies' RAMSES 2009."*

(*Le Monde*, September 18, 2008).

*"As the economic crisis bewilders the world and wrecks havoc among bankers, economists and finance operators, the annual RAMSES 2009 published by the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), edited by Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges and published by Dunod, bears a title that illustrates present and future difficulties: 'Global Economic and Geopolitical Turmoil'."*

(Yann Le Galès, *Le Figaro*, September 22, 2008).

*"A French expert warns against the 'unilateralism' of Western countries. The director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), Thierry de Montbrial, warned Wednesday against 'the unilateralism' of Western countries, which, according to him, risks inciting crises in Europe and leading the continent towards an 'uncertain future.' [...] 'Since the world has become multi-polar and heterogeneity is a fact, it is vital to relearn the virtues of multilateral diplomacy,' writes M. de Montbrial in 'Perspectives,' in RAMSES 2009."*

(*Chinese news agency Xinhua*, September 17, 2008).

A forum for debate, *Politique étrangère*, Ifri's quarterly journal, strives to guide the reader's comprehension of international events by publishing authors from diverse backgrounds and various schools of thought.

*RAMSES*, Ifri's annual reference book, offers indispensable tools to elucidate global developments.

# 2008 Publications

Ifri's publications are divided into four types of collections: "Notes" (policy oriented texts that address issues from all of Ifri's centers and programs), "Études de l'Ifri," which contribute to academic research on international relations, "Séminaires," (summaries of Ifri events), and "Actuelles de l'Ifri" (concise and timely analyses of current international events). Available free of charge on Ifri's website [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org), they are also aimed at a specialists readership.

## NOTES DE L'IFRI (electronic collection)

These collections, overseen by Ifri researchers, present analyses by French and international experts and are largely policy oriented. Applying expertise to current events, they present comprehensive texts and enrich debate. Published in French and English as well as other languages, they are broken down into thematic and periodical collections.

### Collections

#### - ASIE.VISIONS

The Asia Center's collection dedicated to economic, strategic and political issues. Published in English or French, it presents analyses by French and international experts.

Editor: *Valérie Niquet*

Sub-editor: *Céline Pajon*

#### - EUROPE.VISIONS

The *Ifri Brussels* collection created in 2008 and dedicated to the institutional dimension of European public policies, relations between the European Union and third countries and between EU member states.

Editor: *Susanne Nies*

#### - PERSPECTIVES MOM (MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/MEDITERRANEAN)

Collection of the Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean programs dedicated to the analysis of and perspectives on regional developments.

Editor: *Denis Bauchard*

#### - NOTES DU CERFA

Collection of the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa), dedicated to domestic (economy, social issues) and foreign policies shared by France and Germany, as well as European issues. It publishes analyses by both French and German experts.

Editor: *Hans Stark*

#### - VISIONS FRANCO-ALLEMANDES

A Cerfa collection started in 2004 and dedicated to the comparative analysis of French and German perspectives on societal changes in each country as well as on the major contemporary challenges with which Franco-German relations are confronted.

Editor: *Hans Stark*

#### - RUSSIE.NEI.VISIONS

The Russia/NIS Center's trilingual publication (French, English and Russian), dedicated to Russia's positions and strategies in terms of its foreign, energy and domestic policies. It brings together analysis from the Russia/NIS Center's team and leading international experts.

Editors: *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*

#### - FOCUS STRATÉGIQUE

Collection of the Center for Security Studies, which addresses various themes related to security policies: terrorism, the transformation of defense systems, complex stabilization operations, etc.

Editors: *Étienne de Durand* and *Marc Hecker*

#### - PROLIFERATION PAPERS

Collection of the Center for Security Studies published in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), dealing with issues

concerning disarmament, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and major strategic balances.

Editor: *Étienne de Durand*

Outside these publications, the "Notes de l'Ifri" present analyses by other Institute programs:

#### - "SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA" PROGRAM

Analyses of on-going political and society-related developments in Sub-Saharan Africa.

#### - "NORTH AFRICA" PROGRAM

Analyses of political, strategic and economic developments in North Africa and the Western Mediterranean.

#### - "SPACE" PROGRAM

Analyses of developments in the field of space, in French or English.

#### - "EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY" PROGRAM

Analyses of and perspectives on energy issues.

## ÉTUDES DE L'IFRI (collection of works)

The "Études de l'Ifri" are the fruit of the research programs. Covering all spheres, they contribute to academic research in international relations. They are published in either French or English and are conducted by Ifri researchers. Electronic versions are available.

## SÉMINAIRES DE L'IFRI (electronic collection)

The "Séminaires" present the results of internal conferences as well as working papers. The latter make on-going research available to the public.

## ACTUELLES DE L'IFRI (electronic collection)

The "Actuelles" present brief reports offering timely information on and analysis of current international affairs.

#### - ACTUALITÉ MOM

Analysis of current political, strategic and economic issues in North Africa and the Western Mediterranean.

#### - CHRONIQUES ÉLECTORALES AMÉRICAINES

Monthly chronicle on the mechanisms and stakes surrounding the American presidential elections, directed by *Anne Toulouse*, Radio France International's (RFI) special correspondent to the US.

#### - LETTRE DU CENTRE ASIE

Analysis of current political, strategic and economic issues in Asia.

#### - L'AFRIQUE EN QUESTIONS

Analysis of current political, strategic and economic issues in Sub-Saharan Africa, mostly based on interviews with experts.

#### - REPÈRES SUR LA TURQUIE

Analysis of current Turkish issues, produced by the Contemporary Turkey program.

#### - MARDIS DE L'IFRI À BRUXELLES (IFRI'S TUESDAYS IN BRUSSELS)

Summaries of the weekly conferences held in Brussels and periodical information on the ratification process of the Treaty of Lisbon, written by *Susanne Nies*.

#### - ÉDITO ÉNERGIE (ENERGY EDITORIALS)

Monthly column on energy issues, published by researchers from the "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program.

# In 2008, Ifri Notably Hosted...



*Xavier de Villepin, Thierry de Montbrial,  
Prince Turki Al-Faisal*

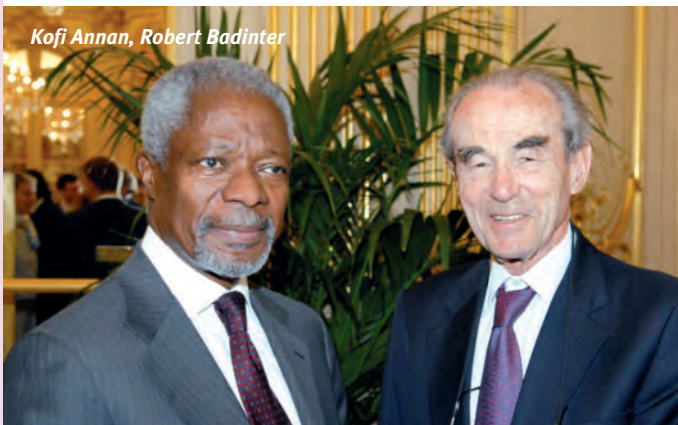
**Prince Turki Al-Faisal**, President of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, former Saudi Arabian Ambassador to Washington

**Walid Al-Mouallem**, Foreign Minister of Syria

**Sven Alkalaj**, Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina

**Luis Amado**, Minister of State, Foreign Minister of Portugal

**Kofi Annan**, former Secretary General of the United Nations, Nobel Peace Prize recipient, President of the Global Humanitarian Forum



*Kofi Annan, Robert Badinter*

**Dora Bakoyannis**, Foreign Minister of Greece

**Jacques Barrot**, Vice-President of the European Commission, Commissioner for Transport

**Jean-François Bureau**, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy of NATO

**Adrian Cioroianu**, Foreign Minister of Romania

**Oguz Demiralp**, Secretary General for EU Affairs of Turkey

**Nadjibulah Djanbaz**, Advisor to the Afghan Supreme Court

**Jonathan Faull**, European Commission Director General for Justice, Freedom and Security

**Benita Ferrero-Waldner**, Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighborhood Policy, European Commission

**Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, President of the Republic of Estonia

**Jean-Pierre Jouyet**, Secretary of State for European Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France

**Constantin Kosatchev**, Chairman of the Duma Committee on Foreign Affairs of Russia



*Toomas Hendrik Ilves*



*Jacob Zuma*



*General Gordon Sullivan, Dominique David*

- Ranko Krivokapic**, President of the Parliament of Montenegro
- Eneko Landaburu**, Director General, External Relations, European Commission
- Lee Hsien Loong**, Prime Minister of Singapore
- Michel Ching-Long Lu**, Representative of Taipei in France



*Lee Hsien Loong*



*Dora Bakoyannis, Thierry de Montbrial*

- Cecilia Malmström**, Foreign Minister of Sweden
- Antonio Milososki**, Foreign Minister of Macedonia
- Pervez Musharraf**, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
- Takeshi Osuga**, Minister of the Permanent Delegation of Japan to the United Nations
- Andris Piebalgs**, Commissioner for Energy, European Commission
- Guéorgui Pirinski**, President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria
- Olli Rehn**, Commissioner for Enlargement, European Commission



*Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Boutros Boutros-Ghali*

- Anand Sharma**, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of India
- Karel Schwarzenberg**, Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic
- Javier Solana**, High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy for the EU
- General Gordon Sullivan**, former chief of staff of the United States Army, President of the Association of the United States Army
- Margot Wallström**, Vice-President of the European Commission and Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy
- Jacob Zuma**, President of the African National Congress (ANC)



*Jean-Pierre Jouyet, Thierry de Montbrial*

# Ifri and the Media, a Permanent Dialogue

Ifri offers the French and foreign press a forum for meeting and debating, an independent platform where ideas can be shared and analyses enrich each other. The Institute maintains a permanent dialogue with journalists by inviting them to the numerous events organized in Paris and Brussels, providing them with expert analyses on current international affairs and shedding light on geopolitical developments through its publications and research. Ifri's research is often quoted and reproduced by the French and foreign media.

In 2008, Ifri was active in the national and international press: its researchers published more than **320 authored articles** and interviews, were **quoted around 2,500 times** and made **450 audiovisual appearances**. More than **500 journalists** were hosted at Ifri outside of press conferences.

The participation of journalists stimulates debate. In 2008, several important French and foreign columnists took part in conferences organized by Ifri. These include Éric LeBoucher, columnist at *Le Monde*, Erik Izraelwicz, editor at *La Tribune*, Paul Taylor, European columnist at Reuters agency, Wolfgang Münchau, columnist at the *Financial Times*, Steven Erlanger, *New York Times* Paris Bureau Chief, Alessandra Galloni, Bureau Chief for the *Wall Street Journal*, Ève Charrin, journalist at *Challenges*, Marc Sémo, journalist at *Libération*, Semih Idiz, columnist at *Milliyet* (Istanbul), Véronique Auger, editor-in-chief, in charge of European affairs at *France 3*, Daniel Vernet, director of external relations at *Le Monde*, Olivier Jehin, editor-in-chief, and Ferdinando Riccardi, columnist at *l'Agence Europe*.

Ifri has developed numerous **partnerships with the French and international media**, notably with *La Tribune* for the "Géopolitique" column, *Le Monde* for the release of *RAMSES*, *Les Échos*, an Ifri partner who regularly publishes articles by its researchers, *Le Figaro*, *Reuters*, who is an Ifri partner for the annual energy conference, *l'Agence Europe*, for the conference on the French presidency of the European Union organized in Brussels, *The Economist*, partner and co-organizer



Président Pervez Musharraf at the end of his conference

of an annual debate (in 2008, on the subject of the new American administration and the future of transatlantic relations), *RFI*, in particular in the framework of the television show "Décryptage," where researchers are often invited to appear, *France Culture*, etc.

For four years Ifri has been partners with *Euractiv.com* in Brussels and with *Euractive.fr* in Paris, the main media portals entirely dedicated to European affairs and present in ten European Union countries. Also for the last four years Ifri has been in partnership with *La Chaîne parlementaire - Assemblée nationale* and with *Public Sénat*.

Each year in September, for the release of *RAMSES*, Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges hold an informal discussion with the French and foreign press in the framework of the International Center for Journalists Based in France (CAPE), an Ifri partner.

In 2008, Ifri contributed regularly to the print and audiovisual press in France as well as to the major foreign Anglo-Saxon, Russian, Arab, Asian African and Eastern/Central European media.



Patrick Gauvat, Director of the CAPE, Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges in the CAPE

## Ifri's Media Relations Team (from left to right)

Natacha Crance  
Communications/  
Media Relations Officer

Azra Isakovic,  
Archivist



# Ifri and its partners



*From left to right: François Drouin, Brynhild Dumas, Vice-President for Development, and Jean-Yves Le Gall*

For almost 30 years, Ifri has provided its partners and members –individuals, institutions, companies– with a platform for debate and a continuous source of specialized information through its numerous research programs. Results are presented through diverse events, abundant publications and research carried out in co-operation with the world’s top institutes.

In 2008 Ifri organized numerous debates and meetings, experienced a remarkable growth in publications from all programs, and started several major programs, thanks to the relationships it has developed with its partners, particularly companies.



*From left to right: Olivier Caron, Olivier Appert, Thierry de Montbrial*

Ifri’s development team’s goal is to inform companies currently supporting Ifri, and possible future partners, of the importance of their contribution for the development of its research activities, and on the returns that they can count on. These include participating in high-level dialogues as well as policy oriented analyses or assisting in public and private decision-making.

Seventy percent of Ifri’s overall budget comes from private funding and a remarkable 43% of that comes from the support of patrons to the programs. Thanks to this support, several new programs have been launched or further developed, notably those on Turkey, Sub-Saharan Africa, India and South Asia, Health and Environment, as well as Sport and International Relations.



*From left to right: Assaad-Emile Saab, Jean-Pierre Guiochon, Pascale Chabrilat*

Ifri reinforced its capacity for influencing French and European public debate by incorporating new research themes, increasing its presence in the media and diversifying channels of dissemination for its work, reaching out both to the public in general and to a targeted audience of economic and political decision-makers. This ability to influence was acknowledged for the second consecutive year in *The Think Tank Index*, a study carried out by the University of Pennsylvania and published in *Foreign Policy*.

*Ifri wishes to express its deepest gratitude to all of its partners who have put their trust in it, and without whose support its activities in 2008 would not have been possible.*

**Ifri’ Development Team:**  
(from left to right and from top to bottom)

Brynhild Dumas,  
Vice-President for Development

Cécile Campagne,  
Corporate Members Relations

Dominique Desgranges,  
Prospect Researcher

Marie-France Feigenbaum,  
Individual and Embassy Members Relations



## EVENTS RESERVED FOR IFRI'S MEMBERS AND PARTNERS

### Dinners and Lunch-Debates

Chair: **Thierry de Montbrial**

#### January 21

With **Lee Hsien Loong**, Prime Minister of Singapore

#### April 3

With **Benita Ferrero-Waldner**, Commissioner for External Relations and Neighborhood Policy, European Commission

#### April 7

With **Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, President of the Republic of Estonia

#### April 9

With **Karel Schwarzenberg**, Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic

#### April 25

With **Jacob Zuma**, President of the African National Congress (ANC)

#### June 10

With **Kofi Annan**, former Secretary General of the UN, Nobel Peace Prize recipient, President of the Global Humanitarian Forum

#### September 16

With **Dora Bakoyannis**, Foreign Minister of Greece

#### November 19

With **Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor, Ifri

#### December 9

With **Francis Fukuyama**, Professor of international economic policy, Johns Hopkins University

#### December 10

With **Prince Turki Al-Faisal**, President of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies

### Lunch-Debates with Ifri's Researchers\*

#### February 19

What to Expect from the American Economic Crisis from Now on?  
**Jacques Mistrail**

#### March 14

Political and Economic Consequences of Russia's Power  
**Thomas Gomart**

#### April 22

After the Parliamentary Elections, What Dialogue with Iran?  
**Denis Bauchard** and **Clément Therme**

#### May 28

The White Paper on Defense and Security: Context and Implications  
**Étienne de Durand**

#### June 25

Germany and the International Financial Crisis  
**Hans Stark**

#### October 24

Asia and the International Financial Crisis  
**Françoise Nicolas**

#### December 5

American Energy Policy After the Elections  
**William C. Ramsay**

\* Organized with the support of Accor.



## Corporate Partners

As of December 8, 2008

### CORPORATE MEMBERS

#### A

ACCOR  
AGENCE FRANÇAISE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT  
(AFD)  
AGF  
AIR FRANCE  
AIR LIQUIDE  
AMERICAN EXPRESS  
ARCELORMITTAL FRANCE  
AREVA  
AXA

#### B

BANQUE DE FRANCE  
BANQUE FÉDÉRALE DES BANQUES  
POPULAIRES  
BC PARTNERS  
BEARINGPOINT  
BNP PARIBAS  
BOUYGUES  
THE BOSTON CONSULTING GROUP  
BURELLE SA

#### C

CAISSE DES DÉPÔTS ET CONSIGNATIONS  
CALYON  
CHENIERE LNG INTERNATIONAL  
CILAS  
CITIGROUP FRANCE  
COFACE  
COLAS  
COMMISSARIAT À L'ÉNERGIE ATOMIQUE  
(CEA)  
CRÉDIT MUTUEL

#### D

DEXIA ASSET MANAGEMENT  
DEXIA CRÉDIT LOCAL

#### E

EADS  
ÉLECTRICITÉ DE FRANCE (EDF)

#### F

FÉDÉRATION DES INDUSTRIES  
ÉLECTRIQUES, ÉLECTRONIQUES  
ET DE COMMUNICATION (FIEEC)  
FRANCE TÉLÉCOM

#### G

GDF SUEZ  
GIDE LOYRETTE NOUEL  
GIMELEC  
GROUPAMA

#### H

HSBC FRANCE

#### I

INDUSTRIES ET FINANCES PARTENAIRES  
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DU PÉTROLE (IFP)

#### J

JP MORGAN CHASE BANK

#### L

L'ORÉAL  
LA MONDIALE  
LA POSTE  
LAFARGE  
LAZARD FRÈRES  
LVMH

#### M

MAZARS  
MEDEF

#### N

NATIXIS  
NOKIA

#### O

OFFICE CHÉRIFIEN DES PHOSPHATES  
(OCP)  
OSEO

#### P

PERNOD RICARD  
PEUGEOT SA  
PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS

#### R

RENAULT  
ROSNEFT  
ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE  
RTE

#### S

SAFRAN  
SANOFI-AVENTIS  
SCHNEIDER ELECTRIC  
SCOR  
SERVIER MONDE  
SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE  
SODEXO  
SOFINNOVA PARTNERS  
SOPREMA

#### T

THALES  
TOTAL

#### U

UNIGRAINS  
UNION DES INDUSTRIES ET DES MÉTIERS  
DE LA MÉTALLURGIE (UIMM)

#### V

VALLOUREC  
VIEL & CIE

#### W

WENDEL INVESTISSEMENT

### PROJECT SPONSORS

ACCOR  
AGENCE FRANÇAISE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT  
AGENCE SPATIALE EUROPÉENNE (ESA)  
AGS HOLDING  
AIR FRANCE  
AIR LIQUIDE  
AMERICAN EXPRESS  
AREVA  
ARIANESPACE  
BNP PARIBAS  
BNP PARIBAS ASSURANCE  
CIC NEW YORK  
CILAS  
COGES  
COMMISSARIAT À L'ÉNERGIE ATOMIQUE  
EADS DEFENSE AND SECURITY SYSTEMS  
ÉLECTRABEL  
ÉLECTRICITÉ DE FRANCE  
FÉDÉRATION NATIONALE DES TRAVAUX  
PUBLICS (FNTP)  
FONDATION BARROW CADBURY  
FONDATION CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN  
FONDATION CLARENCE WESTBURY  
FONDATION DAIMLER  
FONDATION FRANCO-JAPONAISE  
SASAKAWA  
FRANCE TÉLÉCOM  
GDF SUEZ  
GIDE LOYRETTE NOUEL  
GROUPAMA  
INSTITUT ALAIN DANET  
JAPAN AIRLINES (JAL)  
LAFARGE  
MAZARS  
OFFICE CHÉRIFIEN DES PHOSPHATES  
PLOUGHSHARE FUNDS  
PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS  
REPRESENTATIVE OF TAIPEI IN FRANCE  
ROSNEFT  
RTE  
SANOFI-AVENTIS  
SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE  
TOTAL  
VALLOUREC



## MEMBER EMBASSIES AND INSTITUTIONS

As at December 31, 2008

ALGERIA  
ANDORRA  
ARAB LEAGUE  
ARGENTINA  
AUSTRALIA  
AUSTRIA  
AZERBAIJAN  
BAHRAIN  
BELGIUM  
BRAZIL  
BULGARIA  
CANADA  
CHINA  
CROATIA  
CYPRUS  
THE CZECH REPUBLIC  
DENMARK  
EGYPT  
ESTONIA  
FINLAND  
GEORGIA

GERMANY  
GREAT BRITAIN  
GREECE  
HUNGARY  
INDIA  
IRAN  
IRELAND  
ISRAEL  
ITALY  
JAPAN  
KUWAIT  
LITHUANIA  
LUXEMBOURG  
MALAYSIA  
MEXICO  
MONTENEGRO  
THE NETHERLANDS  
NEW ZEALAND  
NORWAY  
POLAND

PERMANENT DELEGATION  
OF POLAND TO THE OECD  
PORTUGAL  
GENERAL DELEGATION  
OF QUEBEC  
ROMANIA  
THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION  
SAUDI ARABIA  
SERBIA  
SINGAPORE  
SLOVAKIA  
SLOVENIA  
SOUTH AFRICA  
SOUTH KOREA  
SPAIN  
SWEDEN  
SWITZERLAND  
REPRESENTATIVE OF TAIPEI  
TURKEY  
THE UNITED STATES  
UZBEKISTAN

- 
- CENTRE DE TRADUCTION (MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉCONOMIE, DES FINANCES ET DE L'INDUSTRIE)
  - CENTRE D'ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES (CEI) – MOROCCO
  - CENTRE JAPONAIS DU COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR (JETRO)
  - CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DU NOTARIAT
  - INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES DE SÉCURITÉ – UNION EUROPÉENNE
  - JAPAN BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (JBIC)
  - MINISTÈRE DE L'AIR / CDAOA BASE AÉRIENNE 117
  - MINISTÈRE DE LA DÉFENSE / CHEAr
  - OFFICE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS – SERBIA
  - PRS CONSULTING – PORTUGAL
  - SECOURS CATHOLIQUE
  - THERACLION SAS
  - YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY (YES) – GREAT BRITAIN

# First Edition World Policy Conference

Évian, October 6-8 2008



The *World Policy Conference*, held from October 6-8, 2008 in Évian, France, is the first effort at a high-level, systematic assessment of the need for new global governance. Ifri, one of Europe's leading think tanks, is the engine behind this initiative. The goal is to develop and elaborate a methodological approach for responding to global governance challenges. How to promote genuine global security that acknowledges the fundamental needs of societies and the exigency of justice? How to reconcile economic development and environmental protection? What mechanisms to use in order to bring together all the stakeholders –states, interstate organizations, non-governmental organizations, companies, and individuals?

The meeting in Évian was a starting step. Opened by Thierry de Montbrial, president of Ifri, it incorporated, over three days, many types of debates: seven *plenary sessions* between heads of state and government and leading international actors; nine *lunch-debates*; sixteen *workshops* centered on specific international issues (the US, Japan, the UE, energy and climate, the credit, financial and economic crises, etc.), that were attended by Ifri researchers and around 40 international experts from all over the world. Several leading figures from the financial and economic fields presented their views, notably on the current crisis: Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the European Central Bank (BCE), Pascal Lamy, Director-General of the World Trade Organization, and Christophe de Margerie, CEO of Total.

The first *World Policy Conference* was closed on October 8 with two important speeches by the president of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev, and the president of the French Republic, Nicolas Sarkozy.

The Conference was widely covered by the major international news media.





# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE



## AMONG THE INVITEES

**His Royal Highness Prince Turki Al-Faisal**  
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

**Pascal Couchepin**  
President of the Swiss Confederation

**Nambaryn Enkhbayar**  
President of the Republic of Mongolia

**Amine Gemayel**  
Former President of Lebanon

**Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo**  
Representative of the President of the United Mexican States

**Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**  
Secretary General of NATO

**Toomas Hendrik Ilves**  
President of the Republic of Estonia

**Pascal Lamy**  
Director-General of the WTO

**Christophe de Margerie**  
CEO of Total

**Dmitry Medvedev**  
President of the Russian Federation

**Stjepan Mesic**  
President of the Republic of Croatia

**Raila Amolo Odinga**  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya

**James Orengo**  
MP, Minister for Lands of the Republic of Kenya

**Hans Gert Pöttering**  
President of the European Parliament

**Sakong Il**  
Personal Representative of the President of South Korea

**Nicolas Sarkozy**  
President of the French Republic

**Boris Tadic**  
President of the Republic of Serbia

**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
President of the ECB

**Abdoulaye Wade**  
President of the Republic of Senegal

**Arseni Yatseniuk**  
President of the Ukrainian Parliament





## WORKSHOPS

1. United States: What Does the World Expect From the “Indispensable Nation”?
2. Russia: Domestic Developments and External Policies
3. China: Domestic Developments and Assertion of Power
4. Japan: What Power, What Strategies?
5. India: Regional Power and/or World Player?
6. Sub-Saharan Africa: Implosion or Takeoff?
7. Is Europe With 27 and More Members Sustainable?
8. Israel/Palestine, the Most Pressing International Issue: What Commitments for External Players?
9. An Arc of Crisis from Iraq to Pakistan
10. Which Governance for Which Stability?
11. The Economy of Knowledge Still Deserves an Effort
12. Credit Crisis, Financial Crisis, Economic Crisis: What to Do?
13. Regulation of Migrations: a World Issue
14. Energy and Climate: What Diplomatic Challenges?
15. Is the Gulf Becoming an Arc of Hope?
16. World Food Crisis

*A special issue of Politique étrangère in English was published in October for the World Policy Conference.*

## SPONSORS

Total, Rusal, Generali, Groupe OCP, Eurobank EFG, GDF Suez, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France, Fondation Zinsou, Orange, Korea Foundation, Architecture lumière, Citelum, Cegelec, Philips.

## The WPC in numbers

### PROGRAM

- 7 plenary sessions
- 1 non-plenary round table
- 9 lunch-debates
- 16 workshops

### SPEAKERS

- 9 heads of state or government
- 11 prominent international figures
- 40 experts (15 French)
- 23 Ifri experts

### PARTICIPANTS

- 650 participants from nearly 40 countries

### JOURNALISTS

- More than 250 journalists representing over a hundred media outlets

[www.worldpolicyconference.com](http://www.worldpolicyconference.com)

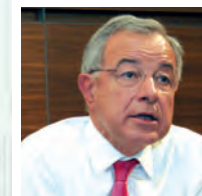


Lieu de  
recherche  
et de  
rencontre

INS  
DES RELAT



COMPRENDRE POUR AGIR  
DANS UN MONDE COMPLEXE



# Research

**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and President of Ifri

## Regional Programs

---

### Europe

- Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)
- French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)
- French Presidency of the European Union Program
- *Ifri Brussels*

### Russia/NIS Center

---

### Ifri Asia Center

---

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

- Middle East Program
- North Africa Program
- Contemporary Turkey Program
- Iran Program
- Relations between the European Union, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa Program

### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

---

### United States Program

---

### Transatlantic Relations Program

---

## Cross-cutting Programs

---

### Security Studies Center / Defense Research Unit (LRD)

---

### Space Program

---

### European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy Program

---

### Economy Studies Program

---

### Migrations, Identities and Citizenship Program

---

### Health and Environment Program

---

### Sport and International Relations Program

---



## Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and President of Ifri  
Member of the Académie  
des sciences morales et politiques

### Speeches and Lectures...

January 8 – **President Sarkozy and the New French Government**, forum organized by the Korea Foundation for Korean opinion leaders, Plaza Hotel, Seoul.

March 5 – **Major International Political and Economic Trends**, Monaco Mediterranean Foundation, Monaco.

March 6 – **Benjamin Franklin: from the Declaration of Independence to the US Constitution**, Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), musée des Arts et métiers, Paris.

June 16 – **Speech for the reception of HRH the Prince El Hassan Bin Talal of Jordan**, Académie des sciences morales et politiques, French Institute, Paris.

August 27 – **Does France Play in the Big Leagues?** Opening of MEDEF summer school, École polytechnique.

October 6 and 8 – **Opening and Closing Speeches at the World Policy Conference**, Évian, France

October 28-31 – **The Political Economic Implications of the Current Financial Crisis**, World Leaders Forum for Commemorating the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Republic of Korea, Seoul.



### Meetings and Seminars...

January 17-19 – **French-British Conference**, Hampshire, Great Britain.

February 23-26 – **Conference of the Institute of Mediterranean Political Studies**, Monaco Club 2008, Qatar.

March 2 – **The Nuclear Security Project. Towards a Nuclear-Free World. A Statesman Dialogue**, round table with George Shultz, Sam Nunn, Henry Kissinger and William Perry, Lancaster House, London.

September 8-14 – **Russia's Role in the Global Geopolitical Revolution of the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century**, Valdai Discussion Club, Rostov-on-Don, Grozny, Moscow.

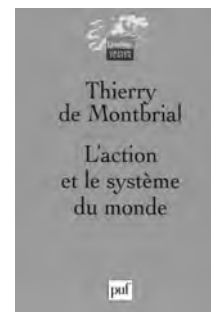
November 16-22 – **Series of meetings and conferences** at the invitation of the Foreign Minister [GAIMUSHO] of Japan, Tokyo.

### Books

**Vingt ans qui bouleversèrent le monde**, Thierry de Montbrial, Dunod, Paris, 2008, 626 p.  
“Over the last twenty years, the world has undergone major upheavals but its acceleration has left us amnesic. We have forgotten certain events, events that are however crucial for understanding our troubled times. Thierry de Montbrial, director of the French Institute of International Relations, helps us to remember them by retracing global convulsions [...]. A salutary return to the past for better understanding today's upheavals.”  
(Courrier Cadres, November 2008.)



**L'Action et le système du monde**, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Paris, PUF, “Quadrige” Collection, 2008, 557 p. Georges Pompidou Award 2002. Translated into Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Chinese and Bulgarian. Currently being translated into Polish.



### Chairman of the World Policy Conference, October 6-8, Évian, France



**World Policy Conference, plenary session – October 7:**  
Stéphane Paoli, Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo V., Stjepan Mesic, Thierry de Montbrial, Abdoulaye Wade, Nambaryn Enkhbayar, Sakong II, Ulysse Gosset.

For more information on Thierry de Montbrial and his publications and lectures, visit  
[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org) and  
[www.thierrydemontbrial.com](http://www.thierrydemontbrial.com)

## Europe

# Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Created in 1954 by an intergovernmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and France, the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations is today one of the oldest bilateral organizations between the two states.

Its main goals are to:

- contribute to a better understanding of the two countries' respective approaches to politics, society and economy;
- analyze the Franco-German relationship within an evolving European Union.

### Team



*Hans Stark*, Secretary General of Cerfa and Professor at the University of Paris III-Sorbonne  
Areas of expertise: history of Franco-German relations and European integration,

CFSP/ESDP, French and German foreign and security policy

*Louis-Marie Clouet*, Research Fellow (from February 2009)

Areas of expertise: defense and security policies, Franco-German industrial cooperation, Russian arms industry and exports

*Claire Demesmay*, Research Fellow (until February 2009)

Areas of expertise: French and German political culture, civil society mechanisms, political integration

*Stephan Martens*, Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: German foreign policy, the FRG's Eastern policies, Franco-German relations, the evolution of European construction and EU enlargement

*Anne-Lise Barrière*, Assistant Research Fellow, in charge of the "Franco-German Network of Young Elites"

### The Three Main Themes of Cerfa's Work

#### Political and Societal Changes in Contemporary Germany

- Domestic politics: political organizations and coalitions; social and economic reforms; societal changes and domestic debate; East-West dynamics; immigration and integration.
- Foreign policy: foreign and security policy; Germany's European policy within the European Union and towards non-member states; relations with the United States and Russia.

#### Franco-German Relations

- Bilateral political, economic and cultural exchanges; comparative approaches.
- Contributions by the two countries to European integration; French and German views on major European issues.

#### European Integration

- Political Europe: the EU's political and legal evolution, particularly concerning the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); institutional reform; European identity and citizenship.
- EU enlargement and security issues: common views on the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and the EU's relations with its neighbours.

### Cerfa's Work in 2008

In 2008, many of Cerfa's events focused on foreign policy issues from a Franco-German perspective. This was notably the case with the two strategic forums organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, dedicated to the Mediterranean and the Middle East (April 7), and to transatlantic relations (November 17). The latter was also the subject of a Franco-German seminar held in cooperation with the University of Montreal (October 30-31).

As in past years, Franco-German relations were thus at the heart of the Center's activity. Cerfa's annual conference (May 19) focused on the French Presidency of the EU in 2008 and its impact on the Franco-German partnership. Franco-German dialogue on economic matters was also pursued, with a conference-debate organized along with the "Economic Studies" program (July 2).

Lastly, Cerfa, in cooperation with the Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (CAP) at the University of Munich, launched a study into the future of political parties in France and Germany. This led to a joint Franco-German meeting (February 15); the initiative will render in 2009 a collective book written by authors from both countries (Presses universitaires du Septentrion, Lille).

### The Franco-German Network of Young Elites

Encouraged by the success of the first year of the Franco-German Network of Young Elites in 2007, the project was repeated by Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für auswärtige Politik (DGAP) in 2008. The network is supported financially by the Robert Bosch Foundation and is made up of highly qualified international students and young post-graduates in social sciences, economics and humanities, as well as young professionals who deal with Franco-German issues in their work. Over the course of three seminars (in Paris, Stuttgart and Berlin), the 20 participants discussed the current stakes in Franco-German cooperation and debated with recognized experts. They then delved deeper into particular aspects of several domestic, foreign and economic policy issues. Their reflections were included in a series of policy briefs published in the *2008 Radioscopies de l'Allemagne*.

### France and Germany Confronted with European Crises

Within the framework of a new bilateral research program financed by the Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Cerfa and the Zentrum für europäische Integrationsforschung (ZEI) are working together to analyze the various crises that have plagued the EU since the 2004 enlargement. From a Franco-German perspective, the two institutes analyze the institutional tools that the EU currently has at hand and look into the future in order to propose new means of action.

In addition to an in-depth study of the Treaty of Lisbon and the changes that it would bring about, the research focuses on a field study of the positions of French and German political and administrative decision-makers concerning possible solutions to the crises and the future of the EU.

Convinced of the need for a transnational approach to discussing these issues, researchers work in bilateral teams, during seminars as well as when drafting publications.

### Electronic Publications

Texts published in 2008 by Cerfa on its two online collections, "Notes du Cerfa" and "Visions franco-allemandes," presented the study of German policy from three different angles: economic and social developments, foreign policy directions, and political and societal debates. Over the course of the economic and financial crisis, a number of publications naturally dealt with the economic and social dimensions, notably addressing debates on social justice, the impact of labor market reforms, as well as Germany's export model.



Texts published in the “Notes du Cerfa” collection also looked at the federal government’s foreign policy objectives, a central theme at Cerfa. In this regard, several issues were addressed: German presence in the Middle East, German-Israeli relations, Berlin’s position in the Atlantic Alliance and the “politicization” of German foreign policy. These “Notes du Cerfa” were, finally, an occasion to revisit three major subjects that, diverse as they may be, were at the center of German public debate in 2008: cultural diversity and integration, the place of the Red Army Faction and far-left wing terrorism in the country’s collective consciousness, and the fight against global climate change.

#### • “Notes du Cerfa” Series

**La politique proche-orientale de la grande coalition**, *Isabel Schäfer*, n° 51, January.

**Le débat sur la Fraction armée rouge. Perception et mémoire du terrorisme d’extrême gauche en Allemagne**, *Annette Vowinkel*, n° 52, February.

**L’Allemagne et l’OTAN**, *Henning Riecke*, n° 53, March.

**Les réformes Hartz des politiques de l’emploi : instrument ou reflet de la normalisation du marché du travail**, *Olivier Giraud and Arnaud Lechevalier*, n° 54, April.

**Diversité et intégration : le débat politique outre-Rhin**, *Mechtild Baumann and Vanessa Müller*, n° 55, June.

**La situation économique et sociale en Allemagne un an avant les élections : bilan et perspectives**, *Michèle Weinachter*, n° 56, October.

**Le “modèle allemand” à l’exportation : pourquoi l’Allemagne exporte-t-elle tant ?** *Hans Brodersen*, n° 57, November.

**La politique climatique de la grande coalition : rétrospective et perspectives**, *Camilla Bausch and Benjamin Görlach*, n° 58, December.

#### • “Visions franco-allemandes” Series

**Les aides publiques au développement en France et en Allemagne : perspectives comparées**, *Alexander von Kap-Herr and Jennifer Moreau*, n° 13, September.

#### • “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

**Les relations franco-allemandes dans le secteur de l’énergie**, *Jan Horst Keppler, Sophie Méritet and Kristina Notz*, September.

#### Book

**Radioscopies de l’Allemagne 2008**, *Claire Demesmay and Hans Stark* (ed.), “Les Études de l’Ifri” series.

Distributed by the Documentation française, this work includes all the “Notes du Cerfa” and “Visions franco-allemandes” published by Cerfa in 2008.

#### Articles

**“Un débat transatlantique sur l’UE et son voisinage”** (section), *Hans Stark* (ed.), in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

**“L’Allemagne face à l’Europe de Nicolas Sarkozy”** *Claire Demesmay*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2/2008.

**“Allemagne : la justice sociale au cœur de la tempête politique”**, *Claire Demesmay*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

#### Outside Publications

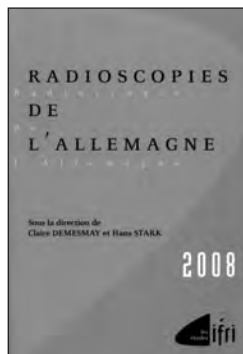
**“Die französische Ratspräsidentschaft 2008 – Zwischen aktuellem Krisenmanagement und strategischer Weichenstellung”**, *Hans Stark*, in *Integration*, n° 3, 2008.

**“Helmut Kohl and the Maastricht Process”**, *Hans Stark*, in *Frédéric Bozo, Leopold Nutt, Marie-Pierre Rey* (ed.), *Europe and the End of the Cold War: a Reappraisal*, London, Routledge, 2008.

**“Entre centralisme national et approfondissement européen : les aléas du fédéralisme allemand”**, *Hans Stark*, in *Hélène Miard-Delacroix* (ed.), *Espaces de pouvoir, espaces d’autonomie en Allemagne*, Lyon, ENS Éditions.

**“Wortkrieg um das europäische Selbstverständnis : eine Vergleichsanalyse der Türkei-Debatte in Deutschland und Frankreich”**, *Claire Demesmay*, in *Frank Baasner* (ed.), *Von welchem Europa reden wir? Reichweiten nationaler Europadiskurse*, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

**Allemagne : une mystérieuse voisine. Portrait en vingt tableaux**, *Claire Demesmay and Daniela Heimerl*, Paris, Lignes de repère (project carried out in 2008, published early 2009).



#### Seminars and Panel Discussions

**February 15 – Seminar: the Future of Political Parties in France and Germany**, Paris

In cooperation with the CAP at the University of Munich and with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

**April 7 – 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Strategic Franco-German Forum: the Mediterranean and the Middle East – Problems, Trends, and Perspectives. What Room for Maneuver in Paris and Berlin?**

In cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Berlin/Paris at the Academy of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Among the subjects addressed: Barcelona Process and the Union for the Mediterranean: European policies in the North Africa-Mashriq region – Demographics, economic crises, radicalism, political governance: the stakes in the North Africa-Mashriq region – Israeli-Palestinian conflict: towards the end of the status quo?

With the participation of *Christian Schmidt*, German Parliamentary Secretary of State, Federal Ministry of Defense, *Jacques Huntzinger*, Ambassador, *Gunther Krichbaum*, Member of the Bundestag, Chairman of the Committee on European Affairs, *Jean-Claude Cusseran*, Secretary General of the Académie diplomatique internationale, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri, Ruprecht Polenz, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Bundestag, *Alain Terrenoire*, Economic and Social Council, *Denis Bauchard*, Ifri, *Martin Beck*, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, *Michael Lange*, Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

**May 22-23 – Franco-German Network of Young Elites**, Paris

In cooperation with the DGAP.

**July 3-6 – Franco-German Network of Young Elites**, Stuttgart

In cooperation with the DGAP.

**September 25 – The Treaty of Lisbon and Its Risks: a Foundation for the EU?**, Bonn

In cooperation with the ZEI in the framework of the ANR-DFG project.

**October 30-31 – The Sense of the Transatlantic Ties After the Bush Era. Franco-German and North American Views of Each Other**, Montreal  
Franco-German-Canadian seminar jointly organized with the University of Montreal.

Among the subjects addressed: the question of power in transatlantic relations – The future of the transatlantic community – The Atlantic Alliance and security policies – The Washington/Paris/Berlin triangle – The Weimar triangle.

With the participation of *Martin Koopman*, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, *Paul Letourneau*, University of Montreal, *Stephan Martens*, University of Bordeaux 3, Cerfa/Ifri, *Stéphane Paquin*, University of Sherbrooke, *Carl Bouchard*, University of Montreal, *Martin Larose*, Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Frédéric Mérand*, University of Montreal, *Dominique David*, Ifri, *Hans Stark*, Ifri, *Ingo Kolboom*, University of Dresden.

**November 17 – 7<sup>th</sup> Strategic Franco-German Forum – The Paris-Berlin-Washington Triangle After the US Elections: Perspectives on Transatlantic Relations**, Paris

In cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Among the subjects addressed: the US after the elections – Energy policy: towards a shared transatlantic space? – Towards a relaunching of the Atlantic Alliance?

With the participation of *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri, *Robert Lieber*, Georgetown University, *Stefan Frölich*, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, *André Schneider*, Member of the Bundestag, *Joachim Pfeiffer*, Member of the Bundestag, *Charles K. Ebinger*, Brookings Institution, *François Lafond*, German Marshall Fund, *Andreas Schockenhoff*, French Deputy, *Nicole Ameline*, Former French Minister, Member of Parliament, *John C. Hulsman*, DGAP, *Étienne de Durand*, Ifri, *Dominique David*, Ifri.

### Public Conferences and Breakfast-Debates

#### February 14 – Franco-German Relations on the Eve of the French EU Presidency

With *Nicole Fontaine*, Member of the European Parliament, former President of the European Parliament.

#### May 19 – 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Cerfa Conference – The French Presidency of the EU in 2008 and Its Impact on the Franco-German Couple, Paris

In cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Among the subjects addressed: climate change and its impact on EU energy policies – Towards European immigration regulation? – The ESDP ten years after Saint-Malo – The Union for the Mediterranean and the European neighborhood policy: Franco-German synthesis.

With the participation of *Ulrich Kelber*, Member of the Bundestag, *Jean Syrota*, French Strategic Analysis Center, *Georg Nüblein*, Member of the Bundestag, *Jacques Lesourme*, Ifri, *Diter Wiefelspütz*, Member of the Bundestag, *Dominique Schnapper*, EHESS, *Richard Grendel*, Member of the Bundestag, *Claire Demesmay*, Ifri, *Matthias Joop*, Director, Institute for European Studies, Berlin, *Nicole Gnesotto*, former Director of the Institut d'études de sécurité de l'Union européenne (IES-UE), *Karl-Heinz Kamp*, NATO Defense College, *Dominique David*, Ifri, *Gerhard Almer*, Head of EU-External Affairs, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Bassma Kodmani*, Director, Arab Reform Initiative, *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri.



*Beatrice Gorawantschy*, *Bassma Kodmani*, *Hans Stark*, *Dorothee Schmid*, *Gerhard Almer*, *Ernst Hillebrand*

#### July 2 – Franco-German Dialogue on the Economy: Overcoming Disagreements

Organized by *Hans Stark* and *Jacques Mistral* (also see the “Economic Studies” program)

#### September 16 – Franco-German Relations in Turmoil, Ifri’s Tuesdays in Brussels with Hans Stark, Ifri

#### September 17 – After 10 Years of ESDP: How to Assess It and What Future for It?

With *Hans Stark*, Ifri

## Europe

# French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

The French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA) is a French-Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1978. Its goal was to develop, through high-level meetings, Franco-Austrian cooperation in order to improve economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe and to contribute to the creation of a peaceful Europe. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, while continuing to pursue bilateral meetings for the consolidation of French-Austrian relations, CFA refocused its activities on problems tied to the EU expansion to Central and Eastern Europe: agricultural, environmental, security and defense policies, monetary, budgetary and immigration policies, etc. Since 2004, CFA has been extending its activities towards countries that conceive of their own future within a European perspective, in particular those in the Western Balkans.

### Team

*Peter Jankowitsch* (Vienne), Secretary General  
*Thierry de Montbrial*, Chairman



*Éliane Mossé*, Advisor at Ifri for CFA, Head of CFA activities at Ifri.

Areas of expertise: current situation in both countries, macroeconomics, comparative economic policies, transition issues in Central and Eastern Europe

Closed meetings, bilateral seminars and large international conferences organized by the CFA have sometimes provided the occasion (for example, over the consequences of an independent Kosovo) for rather animated yet constructive debates. The subjects chosen for the “breakfast meetings” are explained by the contrasted performance of Hungary, Europe’s poster child not so long ago, who today is recording disappointing results, and of Poland, handicapped at the start by its non-competitive

agricultural sector and heavy industry, who is now undergoing remarkable economic growth and preparing to play an important economic and geostrategic role in Europe. The choice of Macedonia for a regional conference is justified by the multiethnic and multicultural character of a country that seeks to stabilize a chronically volatile region. A bilateral symposium was consecrated to the ESDP. Lastly, the conference for the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CFA dealt with the challenges posed by the Treaty of Lisbon not being ratified, the economic and financial crisis, the redefinition of European social models, and the complexity of relations between the EU and its “new neighbours.”

The texts from major events, documents as well as summaries of conferences are available on the Ifri and CFA websites.

### Seminars and Debates

**March 6 – Hungary: From One Transition to Another** With *S.E. László Nikićser*, Ambassador of Hungary in France, *Jean-René Cougard*, Chief of the Economic Mission of Budapest, *Sándor Richter*, Staff Economist, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, *Paul Gradwohl*, Professor, University of Nancy 2, and *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General of the CFA.

**September 30 – Poland: a New Regional EU Power?** With *Tomasz Orłowski*, Ambassador of Poland in France, *Jérôme Baconin*, Economic Advisor for Central Europe and the Baltic States at the Economic Mission of Warsaw, *Krzysztof Soloch*, Ifri.

### Conference

**June 4 – The Subprime Crisis... and Then?** With *Jacques de Larosière*, Advisor, BNP Paribas.

### International Conferences

**May 5 – Macedonia, “Good Pupil” of the Balkans?, Skopje**  
Among the subjects addressed: placing Macedonia in the geopolitical and economic context of the Balkans – Relations between Macedonia and the countries surrounding the Black Sea – Chances for EU membership – Opportunities for EU companies in Macedonia – How to consolidate democracy? With the participation of *Peter Jankowitsch*, *Nikola Gruevski*, Prime Minister of Macedonia, *Dimitar Mircev*, President of the Macedonia European Movement, *Erhard Busek*, Special Coordinator for the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, Vienna, *Joan Pearce*, Minister-Counsellor, Mission of the European Union, Skopje, *Bernard Koenig*, President, Société générale, Skopje, *Jérôme Destombes*, Regional Financial Advisor, French Embassy, *Franz-Josef Kuglitsch*, Head of the Department for Southeast Europe, Austrian Ministry for European and Foreign Affairs, *Gordana Nestorovska*, Executive Director of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Skopje, *Luan Starova*, former Ambassador of Macedonia in France, *Momcilo Radulovic*, Secretary General of the Montenegro European Movement, Podgorica.

**May 29 – The Place of France and Austria in the European Security and Defense Policy, Vienne**  
Among the subjects addressed: security and defense as seen through the eyes of a “neutral” and an “engaged” country – The “powerlessness of power” – From peacekeeping to stabilization operations – The future of European defense – NATO/OSCE/EU complementarity.

With the participation of *Peter Jankowitsch*, *Pierre Viaux*, French Ambassador to Austria, *Hubert Heiss*, Austrian Ambassador to France, General *Johann Pucher*, Austrian Ministry of Defense, *Dominique David*, *Ifri*, *Othmar Höll*, Director of the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (ÖIIP), *Étienne de Durand*, *Ifri*, *Thomas Mayr-Harting*, Policy Director, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *François-Xavier Deniau*, Permanent Representation of France to the UN, Lieutenant Colonel *Laurent Fromaget*, *Ifri*, *Jean-François Guillaume*, French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs, *Karl Prummer*, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Marc Perrin de Brichambaut*, Secretary General of the OSCE, *Stefan Lehne*, Secretary General of the Council of the European Union, General *Reinhard Trischak*, Military Staff of the European Union, Vice-Admiral *Jean-Pierre Tiffou*, French Military Representative to the European Union, General *Walter Feichtinger*, Director of the Institute of Conflict Management and Peacekeeping.

**November 27-28 – Conference for the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CFA – The Evolving European Union: New Challenges, New Responses**

Among the subjects addressed: the main political and institutional steps in European construction – European economic and social governance – Mediterranean policy, Europe’s “Eastern policy” – The economic and financial crisis: Europe’s responses – Are regional policies complementary or competing? – Europe’s social model – Security and defense in Europe – Europe’s challenges of tomorrow: the future of soft power.

With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Peter Jankowitsch*, *Michel Rocard*, *Peter Medgyessy*, *Hubert Védrine*, *Élisabeth Guigou*, *Jean-Pierre Jouyet*, French Secretary of State for European Affairs, *Pierre Lévy*, Director of the Policy Planning Staff (CAP), French Ministry for European and Foreign Affairs, *Rudolf Lennkh*, Head of the Department for Economic Affairs and the Coordination of European Affairs, Austrian Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs, *Janos Martonyi*, former Hungarian Foreign Minister, *Karl-Heinz Nachtnebel*, International Secretary, Austrian Trade Union Federation, *Pervenche Beres*, Member of the European Parliament, *Hannes Swoboda*, Member of the European Parliament, *Pawel Zalewski*, Foreign Affairs Committee of the Polish Parliament, *Michel Foucher*, former French Ambassador to Latvia, *Peter Gottfried*, Permanent Delegation of Hungary to the OECD, *Hubert Heiss*, Austrian Ambassador to France, *Philippe Carré*, French Ambassador to Austria, General *Pierre Forterre*, *Othmar Höll*, Director of the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (ÖIIP), *Pawel Zalewski*, Foreign Affairs Committee of the Polish Parliament, General *Walter Feichtinger*, Director of the Institute of Conflict Management and Peacekeeping, *Pavel Fischer*, Ambassador of the Czech Republic in France.

## Europe

# French Presidency of the European Union

Throughout 2007 and 2008, the program on the French Presidency of the European Union organized a series of breakfast seminars on the main issues related to the presidency. Eight meetings took place in 2008 at the Paris headquarters of Ifri. An international conference – organized in cooperation with Ifri Brussels – closed the series in Brussels, on the eve of the presidency in June.

### Team



*Olivier Louis*, Head of the Program, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: European and commercial issues, India

### Publications

Detailed summaries of all program seminars as well as the final conference are available on Ifri’s website.

### Seminars

Seminar topics were developed in cooperation with the Secretary General for European Affairs and the Permanent Representation of France to the European Union.

**January 16 – How to Reconcile Economic Competitiveness With Social Protection Inside the EU?**

**February 13 – Immigration: an Opportunity for Europe?**

**March 12 – The Global Warming Struggle, a New Icon of European Identity?**

**April 9 – Europe Without the Common Agricultural Policy?**

**May 14 – Europe in the Global World**

**June 11 – How to ensure European Energy Independence**

**July 9 – After the Irish “No,” What Is Next?**

**September 17 – After 10 Years of ESDP: How to Assess It and What Future for It?**

On most occasions, three speakers, including one from Ifri, presented their analysis of the subject, which were then followed by a debate with the audience. Between 60 and 120 people attended each session in 2008. Speakers included: *Jean-Louis Bourlanges*, *Brice Lalonde*, *Claude Mandil*, *Marcel Mazoyer*, *Pierre Ménat*, *Laurent Cohen-Tanugi*, *Patrick Gaubert*, *Jean-François Trogrlic*, *Nicole Gnesotto*.

### Conferences

**April 21 – The European Union on the International Stage**

With *Cecilia Malmström*, Swedish Minister of European Affairs.

### International Conference

**June 24 – The Stakes of the French Presidency of the EU, Brussels**

International conference on the eve of the French Presidency of the Union bringing together more than 20 high-level participants, European members of parliament, civil servants from the Commission and the French government, and recognized experts. Among the subjects addressed: will the Irish “no” lead to a new institutional crisis? – Europe and its neighbors – EU economic and monetary governance – Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Opening address: *Jean-Pierre Jouyet*, French Secretary of State for European Affairs.

With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Bronislaw Geremek*, Vice-President of the European Parliament, *Alain Lamassoure*, Member of the European Parliament, *Yves-Thibault de Silguy*, former European Commissioner, CEO of Vinci, *Eneko Landaburu*, Director General for External Relations, European Commission, *Philippe de Schoutheete*, Egmont Institute.



*Jean-Pierre Jouyet, Thierry de Montbrial*

## Europe

# Ifri Brussels

A European focus has always been a vital dimension of Ifri's activities, in line with the institute's mission to reach out to Europe and the world. Implicit in most of its activities –relations between the European Union and Russia, China or Turkey, Euro-Mediterranean issues, European Security and Defense Policy or Neighborhood Policy–, that dimension is at the heart of several research programs: "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy," "Space," "Migration, Identity, and Citizenship," as well as research by the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations and the French-Austrian Center for European Convergence, or the cycle of preparatory seminars for the French Presidency of the European Union in 2008.

Ifri has become an integral part of the European debate through its office in Brussels, situated at the center of the European quarter. Ifri Brussels acts as a bridge between the activities of Ifri Paris and the heart of Europe. Its presence aims to make French issues and debates better understood in Brussels and in turn to introduce European issues to Paris. Ifri Brussels enriches debate through a multidisciplinary approach, covering all aspects of international relations.

### Team

Pierre Defraigne, Head (until March 31, 2008)



Susanne Nies, Head of Ifri Brussels (since April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008), Research Fellow, "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program



Cécile Kérébel, Research Fellow, "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program

Christian Schülke, Assistant Research Fellow, "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program

### Areas of Research

Researchers based in Brussels are integrated into Ifri's research programs. They do not follow research areas of their own and work instead to develop all of Ifri's programs. As the only representative of a French think tank in the heart of Europe, Ifri Brussels is uniquely able to fulfill its role as an interface between France and the European community. Ifri Brussels left its imprint in 2008 through large conferences, notably the conference on the "Stakes of the French Presidency of the EU," a series of "Energy Breakfasts," the "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program's annual conference, two conferences on space, EU-Chinese relations and also in the framework of the Sport and International Relations program.

In 2008, Ifri Brussels launched a series of electronic policy papers, "Europe.Visions." In 2009, "Europe.Visions" will focus mainly on "the institutional dimension of policies and relations with third states." Ifri Brussels also contributes to the launch of new research programs, such as "South-East Europe," and "Nordika," planned for 2009.

"Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels" have become well-known, regular events in Brussels, focusing both on Ifri's research themes and on current international events, conducted by a researcher or a well-known figure. Thirty-five "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels" took place in 2008.

### Book

Gaz et pétrole vers l'Europe : perspectives pour les infrastructures, *Susanne Nies*, "Les Études de l'Ifri" series.

### Electronic Publications

#### • "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Le débat sur les propositions législatives de la Commission européenne concernant l'énergie, *Cécile Kérébel*, May.

Le "paquet énergie et climat" du 23 janvier 2008 : un tournant pour l'Europe de l'énergie, *Cécile Kérébel, Michel Cruciani and Jan Horst Keppler*, May.

#### • "Europe.Visions" Series

La France et l'Union européenne, *Maxime Lefebvre*, n° 1, June.

Le cinquième élargissement de l'UE, cinq ans après : le cas de la Pologne et de la République tchèque, *Piotr Maciej Kaczynski*, n° 2, November.

#### • Energy Editorial

(see the "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program)

#### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri" Series

Traité de Lisbonne : les ratifications, *Susanne Nies*, August (updated monthly).

State of Negotiations on the Climate and Energy Package, *Cécile Kérébel*, September (updated monthly).

N.B. : reports on "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels" events are published in this collection.

### Articles

"Pétrole. La fin du pétrole roi ?," *Cécile Kérébel*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

"Traité de Lisbonne. Le non irlandais : incident ou mort du traité ?," *Susanne Nies*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

### Outside Publications

"Le partenariat multi-acteurs : une innovation institutionnelle pour le développement durable ?," *Cécile Kérébel*, in *Marie-Claude Smouts* (ed.), *Le Développement durable : les termes du débat*, Paris, Armand Colin.

"The Bargaining of the Climate and Energy Package: Whither Europe?," *Cécile Kérébel*, in *Le Magazine Info*, special issue *Energy and Environment The Clock is Now Ticking*, July 21.

"Quelle gouvernance du marché du pétrole aujourd'hui ? Mécanismes, systèmes d'acteurs et rapports de force en évolution," *Cécile Kérébel*, in *Laetitia Spetschinsky and Tanguy Struye* (ed.), *La Gouvernance de l'énergie en Europe et dans le monde*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Louvain University Press.

"Lettland zwischen Nationalismus und Pragmatismus. Die lettische nationale Bewegung und der lettische Nationalismus 1986-1996," *Susanne Nies*, in *Egbert Jahn* (ed.), *Nationalismus im spät- und postkommunistischen Europa* (3 volumes), Baden-Baden, Nomos.

"What Does France Expect From the Next US Administration?," *Susanne Nies*, EPIN/DGAP, December.



## Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels

### January 22 – Is France Up to a New Role in the European Union?

With *Christian Lequesne*, LSE-Sciences Po Alliance Professor.

### January 29 – Annapolis and After?

With *Elie Barnavi*, former Israeli Ambassador to Paris.

### February 5 – Challenges of Transport and Infrastructures in Europe in 2008

With *Jacques Barrot*, Vice-President, Commissioner for Transport, European Commission.

### February 12 – A Professionals' Look at the Financial Crisis

With *Éric De Keuleneer*, Executive Director of Credibe and Executive Director of the Fondation Universitaire.

### February 19 – Eastern Enlargement of the Schengen Area

With *Jonathan Faull*, Director General of the DG Justice, Freedom and Security at the European Commission.

### February 26 – EU Enlargement Perspectives

With *Olli Rehn*, Commissioner for Enlargement, European Commission.

### March 4 – Financial Crisis Analysis: Subprime, Euro-Dollar, European Central Bank

With *Alexandre Bourgeois*, Chief Economist, Natixis.

### March 11 – Perspectives for Relations Between Iran and the EU

With *Clément Therme*, Ifri.

### March 18 – The Republic of Poland in the EU in 2008

With *Jan Tombinski*, Permanent Representation of Poland to the EU, and *Krzysztof Soloch*, Ifri.

### April 8 – From the Balkans to Turkey: an Austrian Perspective on EU Enlargement

With *Robert Weiss*, First Secretary, Permanent Representation of Austria to the European Union.

### April 15 – The European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) after the Treaty of Lisbon

With *Nicole Gnesotto*, former Director of the Institute for Security Studies (IES-EU).

### April 22 – Are the Priorities of the French Presidency the Right Ones?

With *Franck Debié*, Director General of the Fondation pour l'Innovation politique and Director of the Centre de géostratégie at ENS.

### April 29 – China Before the Olympic Games

With *Valérie Niquet*, Ifri.

### May 6 – Agence Europe – a Permanent Observer of EU Integration Since Its Beginnings

With *Olivier Jehin*, Editor-in-Chief of *Agence Europe*, and *Ferdinando Riccardi*, Editorial writer, *Agence Europe*.

### May 13 – Turkey and the EU: Current Key Issues

With *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri.

### May 20 – Georgia and the EU: Neighborhood Policy, NATO Accession and Russia Relations

With *Salomé Samadashvili*, Georgian Ambassador to Belgium and to the European Union.

### May 27 – Challenges for the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) After the Lisbon Treaty

With *Kerry Longhurst*, Ifri.

### June 3 – South-East Europe Challenges After Kosovo's Independence

Avec *Alina Mungiu-Pippidi*, Professor of Democracy Studies, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin.

### June 10 – The French Presidency and Policy East of the EU

With *Maxime Lefebvre*, Advisor, Permanent Representation of France to the European Union.

### June 17 – European Integration, Breaking-up of Nation States?

With *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

### July 1 – US Policy Towards Jihadist Movements After the US Elections

With *Walid Phares*, Visiting Fellow at the European Foundation for Democracy.

### September 2 – On the Headlines: Lisbon Treaty After the Irish “No,” Russian-Georgian War, US Elections

With *Daniel Vernet*, Director of International Affairs, *Le Monde*.

### September 9 – The Czech Republic's European Policy: Towards Another “No” to the Treaty of Lisbon?

With *Milan Horacek*, Member of the European Parliament.

### September 16 – The Franco-German Couple in Turmoil?

With *Hans Stark*, Cerfa/Ifri.

### September 23 – Is a Post-Putin Russia Possible?

With *Dominique David*, Ifri.

### September 30 – What's Next for the EU-Russia Partnership and Cooperation Agreement?

With *Eneko Landaburu*, Director General for External Relations, European Commission.

### October 14 – Will the Post-election US Be Ready for a New Bretton Woods?

With *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

### October 21 – Russian Civil-Military Relations: Putin's Legacy

With *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri.

### October 28 – French Presidency of the EU and Issues on the Agenda: a German Perspective

With *Peter R. Weilemann*, Director of the European office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

### November 4 – EU Communication After the Irish “No”

With *Margot Wallström*, Vice-President and Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, European Commission.

### November 12 – The Barcelona Process and the Union for the Mediterranean: Current State of the Initiative

With *Marcos Comaro*, Director, Directorate Europe, Southern Mediterranean, Middle East and Neighborhood Policy, DG AIDCO, European Commission, and *Andrès Bassols*, Deputy Head of Unit, “EuroMed and Regional Issues” Unit, DG RELEX, European Commission.

### November 18 – Energy Transit: Experience and Perspectives

With *Ralf Dickel*, Director for Trade and Transit, Energy Charter Secretariat.

### December 2 – French Views on the European Union

With *Véronique Auger*, Editor-in-Chief, Europe, France 3.

### December 10 – Eastern Dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)

With *John O'Rourke*, Head of Unit, “European Neighborhood Policy General Coordination” Unit, DG External Relations, European Commission.

### December 16 – The Mediterranean: Economic Transformations in a Stagnant Environment

With *Jacques Ould-Aoudia*, Policy Officer at the French Ministry of Economy, Industry and Employment, and *Pierre Deusy*, Economic and Trade Affairs Manager, “EuroMed and Regional Issues” Unit, DG External Relations, European Commission.

## Round Tables

### Organized in the framework of the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program.

### February 27 – Oil and Gas Delivery to Europe: an Overview on Existing and Projected Infrastructures

With *Susanne Nies*, Ifri, *Sebastian Sass*, Permitting Manager, Nord Stream AG, and *Brendan Devlin*, Officer, Energy Policy and Supply Security, European Commission.

### April 8 – Unbundling, Regulation and Network Coordination: How the Third Liberalisation Package Will Change Power Markets?

With *Pierre Bornard*, Senior Chairman of European Transmission System Operators (ETSO) Steering Committee, *Emmanuel Cabau*, General Coordinator for the Third Package, European Commission, *Matthias Dürr*, RWE Representative in Brussels. Chair: *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri.

### May 20 – The New Oil Nationalism: Governance, Revenue and Market Power

With *Marie-Claire Aoun*, Researcher, Centre of the Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials, University of Paris-Dauphine, and *Jean-Pierre Favennec*, Director, Center for Economics and Management, French Institute of Petroleum (IFP).

### June 13 – Energy Policy Scenarios Until 2050 for Europe: the View of Energy Players

With *Jean-Eudes Moncomble*, Secretary General, French Energy Council, and *Domenico Rossetti*, Science Officer, European Commission. Chair: *Jacques Lesoume*, Ifri.

### September 17 – After the G8, Industry Facing the Climate Change Challenge

With *Didier Beutier*, Vice-President for Economic and Prospective Studies, AREVA, *Alice de Brauer*, VP Strategic Environmental Planning, Renault, *Koen Coppenholler*, Head of European Government Relations, Arcelor Mittal, *Marc Duhem*, Regional Manager for Europe, Solvay, *Matthias Dürr*, Head of Office, RWE AG Liaison Office Brussels, *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri, *Krish Krishnamurthy*, Linde AG, *Jacques Lesoume*, Ifri, *Assaad Saab*, Vice-President, International Affairs, EDF, *Arve Thorvik*, Vice-President StatoilHydro, EU Affairs, *William Ramsay*, Deputy Executive Director, International Energy Agency (IEA), *Yves Smeers*, Tractebel, Professor of Economics at the Catholic University of Louvain, *Wolfgang Weber*, Head of Energy and Climate Policy, BASF.

### November 25 – Double Whammy for Energy Financing: Energy Prices and Credit Availability

With *Jan Stuart*, Global Oil Economist, UBS Securities LLC, *Didier Houssin*, Director of Energy Markets and Security, IEA, and *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri.

### December 18 – Franco-German Energy Relations in the European Context: Still Powering Europe?

With *Hinrich Thoelken*, Economic Counselor, Embassy of Germany in France, *Christophe Schramm*, Deputy Head of Unit, French Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Territorial Development, *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri.

## Other Seminars in Brussels

### June 23 – The Future of Soccer in Europe

With *Richard Corbett*, Member of the European Parliament, *Pedro Velazquez-Hernandez*, Deputy Head of the SportUnit of the DG for Education and Culture, European Commission, and *Jonathan Hill*, Head of European Affairs, UEFA.

Chair: *Ferdinando Riccardi*, Editorial writer, Agence Europe.

Introduction : *Valérie Amant*, Ifri.

### June 24 – The Stakes of the French Presidency of the EU

(see the “*French Presidency of the European Union*” program)

### June 25 – The French White Paper on Defense: Implications for the ESDP

With *Étienne de Durand*, Ifri, and *Jolyon Howorth*, Jean Monnet Professor of European Politics, University of Bath, Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of Yale, New Haven (US). Event organized in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Foundation.

### July 1 – A New Role for France in Europe?

With *Sylvie Goulard*, President of the Mouvement européen France.

This event was organized in cooperation with *Françaises d'Europe*.

### July 2 – The French Presidency of the EU and the Dynamics of European Space

(See the “*Space*” program)

### September 23 – Release of *RAMSES 2009*

With *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, *Dominique David* and *Susanne Nies*, Ifri.

### December 3 – Europe's Ambitions in Space in 2009

(see the “*Space*” program)

## International Conference

### January 31-February 1 – The External Energy Policy of the European Union – 2008 Annual Conference of the Ifri's “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program

(see the “*European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy*” program)



*Ricardo Soares de Oliveira*, *Jacek Saryusz-Wolski*, *Paul Taylor*, *Jean-Marie Chevalier*, *Franklin Dehousse*, *Jacques Lesourme*

## Russia/NIS

# Russia/NIS Center

**For reasons that are at once political, economic and strategic, it is no longer possible today to overlook Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS). Both that country and that region are simultaneously characterized by their strong potential and their chronic instability. An unavoidable energy partner with a promising market, Russia is plagued with various internal conflicts and remains difficult to penetrate. Because of its international status, it is not an emerging country like any other. The region is today distinguished by its extreme heterogeneity and the fundamental changes in the relations that each country maintains with Moscow and other external players. The Russia/NIS Center was created in 2004 with three main objectives: to anticipate changes in the region, provide expertise and offer policy solutions to decision makers.**

## Team



*Thomas Gomart*, Director



*Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, Research Fellow

*Dominic Fean*, Assistant Research Fellow

*Adrian Dellecker*, Associate Research Fellow

*Didier Chaudet*, Research Fellow (until the end of 2008)

*Tatiana Speranskaia*, Assistant Research Fellow (until the end of 2008)



## Research Areas

### Power Systems in Eurasia

The Center monitors the on-going process of civil and military elite formation in the region and the different ways in which those elites come to power, in order to better understand power struggles and the decision-making process.

A comparative approach (Russia and Central Asia) allows researchers to look into the functioning of the central power systems. Particular attention is given to the interaction between military and political leadership. In order to remain up-to-date on the sociology of decision-makers, our researchers make regularly visits to the region.

### The Strategic Partnership Between the EU and Russia

This relationship is today undergoing an undeniable crisis of confidence. A specific task force was formed within the Russia/NIS Center to formulate operational recommendations so as to improve relations between the two sides. This task force also studies issues surrounding Russia's integration into global governance (WTO).

### Interaction Between Russian Foreign and Energy Policies

This research area examines the restructuring of the Russian energy landscape and its implications for neighboring countries along with the use of energy supplies for political ends. There is close cooperation with the “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” program.

### Technological Innovation and Scientific Research

This program analyzes the current restructuring of the technology sector and seeks to identify Russian areas of excellence and scientific organizations which could help Russia become internationally competitive.

## Book

*Russie.Nei.Visions 2008. Understanding Russia and the New Independent States*, *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean* (eds.), “Les Études de l’Ifri” series.

## Electronic Publications

### • “Russie.Nei.Visions” Series

(series published in English, French and Russian)

*L’UE : aiguillon des stratégies de Gazprom ?*, *Catherine Locatelli*, n° 26, February.

*L’Arménie, avant-poste de la Russie au Caucase ?*, *Gaidz Minassian*, n° 27, February.

*Enseignement supérieur en Russie : potentiel et défis, special issue* (n°s 28-30, April)

*Enseignement supérieur, clé de la compétitivité russe*, *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, n° 28, April.

*Enseignement supérieur en Russie : comment dépasser l’héritage soviétique ?*, *Boris Saltykov*, n° 29, April.

*Impact du “nouveau management public” sur l’enseignement supérieur russe*, *Carole Sigman*, n° 30, April.

Caspian Pipeline Consortium, baromètre du climat d'investissement en Russie ?, *Adrian Dellecker*, n° 31, May.

Différencier la politique européenne de voisinage : quelles implications pour l'Ukraine ?, *Kerry Longhurst*, n° 32, July.

Coopération universitaire russo-américaine. Quel nouveau modèle après l'aide technique ?, *Andrei Kortounov*, n° 33, August.

L'OCS : poste d'observation sino-russe, *Stephen Aris*, n° 34, September.

Terrorisme islamiste en Grande Asie centrale : "Al-Qaïdisation" du djihadisme ouzbek, *Didier Chaudet*, n° 35, December.

## Articles

"Grande Asie centrale et manœuvres de puissance" (section), *Didier Chaudet* (coord.), in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2008.

"La menace djihadiste en Grande Asie centrale," *Didier Chaudet*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2008.

"Russia Alone Forever? The Kremlin's Strategic Solitude," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique étrangère*, *World Policy Conference*, special issue, fall.

"Russie. Le CPC, nouveau test de la politique énergétique," *Adrian Dellecker*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

"Russie. Quelle capacité de rebond technologique ?," *Tatiana Kastueva-Jean*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

"Kremlin Inc: Gaming the Energy Landscape," *Adrian Dellecker*, in *Policy Paper* (English version of an article that appeared in French in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2007, under the title: "Kremlin Inc.: Le système juridique au service de l'industrie énergétique"), January (available on Ifri's website).

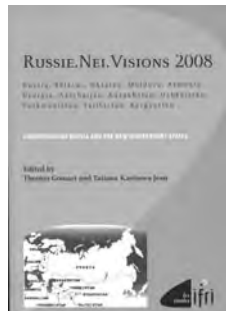
## Publications of the Transatlantic Program

co-directed by *Andrew Kuchins*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and *Thomas Gomart* (Ifri)  
(see the *Transatlantic Program*)

## Outside Publications

"L'Europe marginalisée," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique internationale*, n° 118, winter.

Russian Civil-Military Relations: Putin's Legacy, *Thomas Gomart*, Washington, Carnegie Endowment.



## Seminars

### January 28 – Higher Education in Russia: Possibilities and Challenges

With *Boris Saltykov*, President of the Russian House for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, former Russian Minister of Political and Technological Science, *Carole Sigman*, Researcher, Coordinator of the FOREDOC Project, University of Paris X-Nanterre, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, Ifri, *Andrei Kortounov*, Director, INO-Center (Innovation-Science-Education) and the NewEurasia Foundation, Moscow.

### December 1<sup>st</sup> – Ifri-MGIMO: XIV<sup>th</sup> Seminar on Security Issues

Partnership between Ifri and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University).

Among the subjects addressed: the international agenda – Common neighborhood policy after the war in Georgia – World views and the analysis of threats – Reconsidering European security architecture.

Avec *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Anatoli Torkounov*, Chief Administrative Officer, MGIMO, *Artëm Malguine*, Advisor, MGIMO, *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri, *Louis Schweitzer*, Co-Director of the "White Paper on France's Foreign and European Policy," *Constantin Kosatchev*, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Duma, *Igor Ivanov*, former Russian Foreign Minister, *Hubert Védrine*, former French Foreign Minister.

## Lunch-Debate, Press Club de France

### March 13 – Political and Economic Consequences of Russia's Power

With *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri.

## Conferences-Debates

### September 15 – What Role Should the EU Play in Central Asia?

With Ambassador *Pierre Morel*, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, *Oksana Antonenko*, Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and *Didier Chaudet*, Ifri.



*Pierre Morel*, *Oksana Antonenko*, *Thomas Gomart*, *Didier Chaudet*

### October 23 – Between Russia and Europe: the Stakes in the Caucasian Crisis

With *Thomas Gomart*, *Dominique Moïsi*, *William Ramsay* and *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

### February 18 – The Russian Presidential Elections: Political and Economic Implications

With *Alexandre Volochine*, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Russian national electricity company RAO-EES, former Presidential Chief of Staff (1999-2003).

### April 17 – Russia Is Back: How Did Putin Do It?

With *Marshall Goldman*, Davis Professor of Russian Economics, Associate Director, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies.

### June 15 – Russia and the West: the Weight of Reminiscence

With *Natalia Narotchnitskaïa*, former Member of the Duma, *Georges Nivat*, Chief Administrative Officer of the Lomonosov Moscow State University, and *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri.

## International Interventions

### February 1<sup>st</sup> – How to Shape Relations With Russia?

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* at the 896<sup>th</sup> Wilton Park Conference, "European Security in 2020: External Threats and Internal Response."

### March 13 – Putin/Medvedev: What Are Russia's Options?

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the framework of a conference organized by the Club de l'Expansion.

### April 23 – Managing Rising Powers: China and Russia

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the seminar "America, Europe and the World," organized at the Council on Foreign Relations (Washington). Debate with *Harry Harding*, George Washington University, *Andrew Kuchins*, CSIS, *Eberhard Sandschneider*, Deutsche Gesellschaft für auswärtige Politik (DGAP), and *Angela Stent*, Georgetown University.

### May 16 – Europe, Russia, and the United States: Finding a New Balance

In the framework of the Transatlantic program with the CSIS (seminars and publications).

### June 20 – The Future of the CPC, Moscow

Participation of *Adrian Dellecker* in a conference organized by the "European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy" program and the MGIMO: EU/Russian Energy Relations.

### July 16 – In Search of a Common European Interest, EU Policies Towards Russia Since 1991, Brussels

*Thomas Gomart* presented the Ifri/CSIS report *Europe, Russia, and the United States: Finding a New Balance* during a seminar bearing the same title organized by the EU French Presidency and the European Commission, as well as to the COREPER chaired by Ambassador *Pierre Sellal*.

### September 26 – How to Deal with the New Russia?, Berlin

With *James Sherr*, Head of the Eurasia Program (RIIA), and *Thomas Gomart*.

Chair: *James Thomson*, President of the RAND Corporation.

### October 1-3 – New Challenges With Russia, Tremezzo

*Thomas Gomart*, debate with *Thea Gogvadze-Apfel*, DDF Georgia, chaired by *Karen Donfried*, Executive Vice-President, GMF, in a seminar during the 8<sup>th</sup> annual transatlantic conference "Transatlantic Goes Global," organized by the German Marshall Fund and the Bertelsmann Foundation.

November 10-12 – Energy: Prices and Transit, Istanbul

Participation of *Adrian Dellecker* at a conference of the World Independent Energy Network, organized by the Baden-Baden group (*Leonid Grigoriev*).

November 17 – Russian Civil-Military Relations: From Putin to Medvedev, Oxford

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in a conference at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.

November 20 – Political Dimensions: NATO-Russia Council and Beyond, London

*Thomas Gomart*, debate with *Bastian Giegerich*, NATO Defense College, and *Alexander Sternik*, Russian Embassy in London at a conference on "Prospects for NATO-Russia Relations after the Conflict in Georgia" (IISS).

## Asia

### Ifri Asia Center

**In Asia today, economic, political and security stakes could not be higher. Through its research, programs, partnerships with important international research centers, and the events that it organizes, the Ifri Asia Center aims to offer in-depth insight and analysis, input in decision-making, and a place for dialogue on crucial issues.**

The Center's main work is published in the *Lettre du Centre Asie*, the "Asie.Visions" series, as well as in outside academic publications. Through exchanges with the media and constant participation in seminars and conferences, researchers from the Asia Center are an integral part of the national and international debate on Asian issues.

#### Team



*Valérie Niquet*, Director

*Olivier Louis*, Head of the India and South Asia Program, Research Fellow



*Françoise Nicolas*, Senior Economist



*Hélène Le Bail*, Research Fellow (China)



*Céline Pajon*, Assistant Research Fellow (Japan)

*Raphaël Gutmann*, Assistant Research Fellow (India and South Asia)

#### China Program

China's emergence and its integration into the international system are core themes of the Asia Center's work. China has been successful in its pursuit of a highly voluntaristic development policy, based on economic reforms and the country's opening up to the world. This strategy of a peaceful emergence has resulted in rapid and continuous growth and a globalization of China's interests, all of which has prompted numerous questions on the part of its partners. This is most notably the case in the energy sector where China is pursuing an offensive strategy, reaching out to the Middle East and Africa.

China today finds itself confronted with a global economic crisis that directly affects the main engine of its growth. It is thus essential to analyze the crisis' possible political and social consequences on the Chinese system.

#### India and South Asia Program

This program launched in 2008 aims for a better understanding of the stakes and development factors in India's economic and political strategies. It seeks to forecast possible trends, develop year-round networks with major players in India's economic and political landscape, provide expertise based on the work of Indian and Western researchers, and offer more visibility and a platform for exchanges between analysts and French, Indian, and European policy makers. It strives to contribute to a better comprehension of the stakes surrounding India's emergence.

The program is concentrated around three main themes: India in the global economy; India's relations with its neighbours, especially with Pakistan; and political life in India. These three themes can be subsumed into one single question: does India intend to become a world power?

#### Japan Program – Franco-Japanese Dialogue

For the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and Japan, the Ifri Asia Center organized in December a symposium on the renewal of the Franco-Japanese partnership. The roundtable topics –human security, economic partnership, social models, development in Africa– highlighted the continuity of and the potential for developing dialogue between Paris and Tokyo in an evolving international context.

This program aims to offer a forum for debate between Japanese and European experts, and to strengthen the capacity and potential for research on Japan in France.

#### Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies

The Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies was created in 2006 and is directed by *Valérie Niquet* and *Françoise Nicolas*. The goal of the Circle's meetings is to facilitate informal exchanges around major macroeconomic or economic policy issues in Asia. This circle brings together representatives from business, government and research.



## Chinese Direct Investment in Europe

During 2008, a joint program with the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House, London) was launched on Chinese direct investment in Europe. The aim is to examine the motivations and strategies of Chinese investors, who are increasingly active in industrialized countries, including European ones.

In this framework, *Françoise Nicolas* presented the results of preliminary research at various international conferences organized in Bali (August 28-29), Copenhagen (October 9-10), and Beijing (December 13-14).

## EU-East Asia Economic Relations

Following the suspension of trade negotiations in the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in summer 2006, the attractiveness of bilateral free trade agreements has not stopped increasing. The EU turned more decisively towards this strategy and engaged preliminary discussions with a number of partners, notably in Asia. Following a first study dedicated to the free trade agreement between the EU and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), the Ifri Asia Center launched a research project, with the support of the Korea Foundation and directed by *Françoise Nicolas*, on the issues surrounding a free trade agreement between the EU and South Korea. This project, which brought together European and Korean researchers, ended in 2008. *Françoise Nicolas* presented the results of her research during the international seminar on “Deep Integration and North-South Free Trade Agreements – EU Strategy for a Global Economy,” organized by the United Nations University – Center for Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), in Bruges (June 19-20).

## Electronic Publications

### • “Asie.Visions” Series

**L'Europe et la Chine : une coopération aux dimensions juridiques complexes,** *Antoine Sautenet*, n° 3, March.

**China and Foreign Investors. The End of a Beautiful Friendship ?,** *Françoise Nicolas*, n° 4, April.

**How Far Has Indian Industry Travelled Down the Deregulatory Road?,** *Dilip Subramanian*, n° 5, June.

**The Chaotic History of Foreign Companies in India,** *Nathalie Belhoste and Jérémie Grasset*, n° 6, July.

**La croissance économique chinoise face aux défis de la mondialisation,** *Fan Gang*, n° 7, July.

**Du tremblement de terre du Sichuan aux Jeux olympiques : la Chine face aux défis politiques de l'année 2008,** *Valérie Niquet*, n° 8, August.

**L'aide publique au développement japonaise et l'Afrique : vers un partenariat fructueux ?,** *Julien Kita*, n° 10, September.

**India's International Trade Policy,** *Laurence Henry*, n° 10, September.

**Le retour des “cerveaux” en Chine : quel impact socioéconomique ?,** *Wei Shen and Hélène Le Bail*, n° 11, October.

### • La Lettre du Centre Asie Ifri

This monthly letter offers prospective analysis of political, strategic and economic developments in Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Far East. Its contributors include permanent and associated members of the Center. Contributions from French and international researchers and experts are also included. Subscription to the series is available through Ifri's website.

### • Working Papers

**La culture stratégique et la normalisation militaire du Japon,** *Céline Pajon*, February.

**La sécurité collective en Asie,** *Loïc Frouart*, February.

**Culture stratégique et politique de défense en Chine,** *Valérie Niquet*, February.

**Péninsule coréenne : une nation, deux entités stratégiques,** *Marianne Peron-Doise*, February.

**La stratégie australienne en Asie-Pacifique,** *Céline Pajon*, May.

**In the Mood for Multilateralism? China's Evolving Global View,** *Shen Wei*, July.

Summaries from two seminars are available online:

**La Chine, nouvel acteur du système multilatéral,** *Julien Kita* (Seminar, July).

**Internet et opinion publique en Chine,** *Hélène Le Bail* (Seminar, December).

## Articles

*Politique étrangère* 2/2008, “La Chine des Jeux olympiques : défis internes et externes”:

- “La Chine face au défi des Jeux olympiques,” *Valérie Niquet* ;
- “Les débats sur la croissance chinoise,” *Françoise Nicolas* ;
- “Le régime chinois face aux inégalités,” *Hélène Le Bail*.

“Le retour de l'idée nationale au Japon : tourner la page de l'après-guerre,” *Céline Pajon*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2/2008.

“L'accord nucléaire indo-américain : enjeux et polémiques,” *Raphaël Gutmann*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2008.

“L'Asie et la démocratie : entre blocages et transition ?,” *Valérie Niquet*, in *RAMSES 2009* (introduction to the “Asia-Pacific” section).

“Chine. Accueillir les Jeux olympiques,” *Hélène Le Bail*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Japon. L'impossible réforme ?,” *Céline Pajon*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Fonds souverains ‘du Sud’. Une réglementation nécessaire” and “Gouvernance économique mondiale. L'émergence du Sud,” *Françoise Nicolas*, in *RAMSES 2009*.



## Outside Publications

“La nouvelle immigration chinoise au Japon entre ascension sociale et représentations criminalisantes,” *Hélène Le Bail*, in *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, vol. 24, n° 3.

“What Scope for an EU-ASEAN FTA?,” *Françoise Nicolas* (with *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan*), in *Journal of World Trade*, vol. 42, n° 1, February.

“EU-ASEAN: Prospects for a Free Trade Agreement,” *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan and M. Bruna Zolin* (ed.), *Asia and Europe: Contrasts and Connections*, Venice, Foscarini Editrice.

“Negotiating a Korea-EU Free Trade Agreement: Easier Said Than Done,” *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 6, n° 4.

## Seminars, Round Tables, Debates

### • India and South Asia Program

#### November 5 – Nuclear Cooperation and the Non-Proliferation Regime: the Case of India

With *Mohan Kumar*, Minister-Counsellor and Deputy Chief of Mission of the Indian Embassy in France, *Jean Klein*, Professor Emeritus, University of Paris I, *Pierre Zaleski*, Deputy Director of the Centre of Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials, University of Paris-Dauphine, *Raphaël Gutmann*, Ifri.

### • China Program

#### January 24 – Three Months After the XVII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party: China Faced With Choices of Adaptation

With *Valérie Niquet*, Ifri, *Shen Chunyao*, Deputy Director of the Legal Commission of the Permanent Committee of the National Popular Assembly of China, *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri, *Gao Shi-ji*, Director of the Research Department of Strategy, Development and Regional Economy of the French State Council, *Olivier Louis*, Ifri.

Introduction by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Zhao Jinjun*, Chinese Ambassador to France.

#### April 18 – China: a New Player in the Multilateral System

International seminar organized with the support of the Policy Planning Staff (CAP) of the French Ministry for European and Foreign Affairs and the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva, bringing together Chinese, French and American stakeholders to discuss the role of China in the multilateral system.

#### September 23 – Internet and Public Opinion in China

With Professor *Guo Liang*, Deputy Director of the Center for Social Development, China Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).

#### December 8 – China in Africa: Assistance, Investment, and Political Involvement

Among the subjects addressed: development assistance, investments by large state companies and SMEs, political relations.

With the participation of four Chinese specialists on relations between China and the Sub-Saharan African countries.

### • Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies

#### January 30 – The Boom of Direct Chinese Investment in Europe

With *Christian Milelli*, Economist and Researcher, Economix, University of Paris X-Nanterre.

#### March 18 – The New Chinese Law on Foreign Direct Investments: What Is New?

With *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri.

#### April 24 – The Korea-EU Free Trade Agreement: What Is at Stake?

With *Chung-Rok Pang*, Research Director, The Korean Society of Contemporary European Studies, and *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri.

#### June 10 – Afghanistan, How to Exit From the Narcocoeconomy?

With *Ranjana Mukherjee*, Senior Public Sector Specialist, South Asia Vice Presidency, World Bank, *William Byrd*, Senior Economist, South Asia Vice Presidency, World Bank, *Serge Michailof*, Sciences Po Paris, former Director of the French Development Agency (AFD).

#### September 24 – Vietnam Confronted With the Global Financial Crisis

With *Le Xuan Ba*, Professor, Vice-President, Vietnamese Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM), and *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri.

### • The Ifri Asia Center Meetings

#### April 10 – Australia's Strategy Towards the Asia-Pacific

With *Rod Lyon*, Director of the Strategic and International Affairs Program, Australian Strategic Policy Institute.

#### June 6 – The Strategic EU-China Partnership: an Atypical Relationship?

With *Antoine Sautenet*, Western Institute of Law and European Studies (IODE), University of Rennes I.

#### June 13 – Overview of China, One Month After the Sichuan Earthquake

With *Valérie Niquet*, Ifri.

## Conferences-Debates

#### June 13 – India's Africa Policy

With *Anand Sharma*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, India.

Chair : *Xavier de Villepin*, former Chairman of the French Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### June 26 – The Rise of Casteist and Regional Parties in India

With *Zoya Hasan*, Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University of New Delhi (JNU), *Max-Jean Zins*, Researcher at CERI, *Balveer Arora*, Professor at JNU, *Dominique Girard*, Diplomatic Government Advisor and former French Ambassador to India, *Jean-Luc Racine*, Research Director of CNRS/EHESS.

## International Conferences

**January 9-10 – 7<sup>th</sup> Annual France-Korea Forum**, Seoul  
Ifri and the Korea Foundation, an organization under the tutelage of the South Korean Foreign Ministry, have jointly organized a France-Korea Forum since 1995, with the two countries alternatively hosting the event. *Song-Nim Kwon* organized, from Ifri's side, the 2008 meeting held in Seoul.

Among the subjects addressed: French and Korean domestic politics: reform policies of the new governments – Global economy forecasts: perspectives on each other. Bilateral economic relations Korea-Europe – Korea-France Relations: past, present and future – Peace and security in Northeast Asia.

With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Patrick Beaudouin*, French Deputy, President of the France-Korea Parliamentary Friendship Association, *Patrice Martin-Lalande*, French Deputy, *Jean-Claude Beaulieu*, French Deputy, *Philippe Thiébaud*, French Ambassador to Korea, *Christian de Boissieu*, President of the Conseil d'analyse économique attached to the French Prime Minister, *Pierre Fournier*, Deputy Director of the Asia-Oceania Bureau, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Loïc Frouart*, Bureau Chief, French Ministry of Defense, *Valérie Niquet*, Ifri, *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri, *Yim Sung-Joon*, President of the Korea Foundation, *Kim Won-wung*, Member of the Korean Parliament, Chairman of the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Commerce, *Chul-ki Ju*, former Korean Ambassador to France, *Byung-kook Kim*, Professor at the University of Korea, *Kim Che-soo*, Director, political affairs desk at the daily newspaper *Dong-a*, *Tae-ho Bark*, Dean of the Department of International Studies at Seoul National University, *Kim Heung-jong*, Director of the

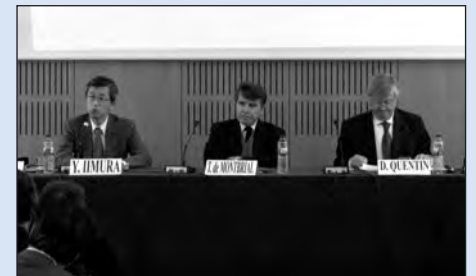
European program, Korean Institute for International Economic Policy, *Young-seok Oh*, Director of the International Cooperation program, KAIST, *Kim Woo-sang*, Professor at Yonsei University, *Lee Soo-hoon*, Chairman, Presidential Committee on Northeast Asia Cooperation Initiative.

#### December 18 – 150 Years After the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between France and Japan: Toward a New Partnership

On the occasion of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic relations between France and Japan, this conference explored paths for strengthening future cooperation: Human security: a fresh view on international action? – Future economic partnership – Japanese and French socioeconomic models, foundations for a new dialogue – Strategies for African development. With *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Yutaka Iimura*, Japanese Ambassador to France, *Didier Quentin*, French Deputy, President of the France-Japan Group, *Takeshi Osuga*, Minister of the Permanent Delegation of Japan to the United Nations, *Marc Giacomini*, Office of United Nations and International Organizations, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Jean-Pierre Duprieu*, Air liquide, *Johji Sato*, Japan Business Network in Europe, *Jean-Bernard Ouvrieu*, former French Ambassador to Japan, *Jacques Valade*, Ambassador-at-Large for Asia, *Kazumasa Iwata*, President of the Economic and Social Research Institute, *Anne Gazeau-Secret*, Director of International Cooperation and Development, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Masafumi Kuroki*, Vice-President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency, *Nobukatsu Kanehara*, Deputy Director, Bureau of European Affairs, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



*Jean-Pierre Duprieu, Dominique Perreau, Bernard Yvetot, Johji Sato, Tsutomu Higuchi*



*Yutaka Iimura, Thierry de Montbrial, Didier Quentin*

## Middle East/ North Africa/ Mediterranean

# Middle East Program

Ifri has always dedicated much of its research activities to studying conflicts in the Near and Middle East, the attempts at solving them and the region's developments. The Middle East program follows two major research areas:

– The reshaping of the Arab world in the wake of the US invasion of Iraq: analysis of the evolution of post-Saddam Iraq and the conflict's consequences on neighboring countries –developments within Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt (the three of them deeply affected by the war)–, the international community's attempts at promoting domestic reforms.

– Reform processes, notably democratization in the Arab world, appear both necessary and unstoppable. The democratization process, currently only engaged in a small number of countries, is still moving at a slow pace and constantly running into obstacles, with a potential for triggering destabilizing effects on current regimes that could, in turn, favour the take-over of power by Islamist movements. Will developments driven by domestic (public opinion, civil society, Arab media) and foreign (the US, the European Union, UNDP reports) pressures further encourage those processes or, instead, lead to destabilizing reactions?

### Director



*Denis Bauchard, Special Advisor for the Middle East*

### Electronic Publications

#### • "Perspectives Moyen-Orient/ Méditerranée" Series

*La Syrie au carrefour des risques,*  
*Denis Bauchard, May.*

*Du Liban au Pakistan : un arc de crise hors  
contrôle ?, Denis Bauchard, December.*

### Article

"From Lebanon to Pakistan: a Crescent of Crisis Out of Control?," *Denis Bauchard, in Politique étrangère, World Policy Conference, special issue, fall.*



### Seminars, Round Tables

**January 21 – Syria at the Crossroads of Danger**  
Among the subjects addressed: Syria's domestic problems – Syria, major actor in the Middle East – Syria and its relations with players outside the region.

With *Mohammad Ali Attasi*, journalist and Associate Researcher, Institut français du Proche-Orient (IFPO), Beirut, *Samir Aïta*, President, A Concept, *Salam Kawakibi*, political scientist, Associate Researcher, CIDOB, Barcelona, *Bassma Kodmani*, Director, Arab Reform Initiative, *Samir Al-Taqi*, Director, Al-Shark Center, Damascus, *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri, *Jean-François Legrain*, Researcher, Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, *Joseph Bahout*, Researcher, Sciences Po, Paris, *Marwan Daoudy*, Professor, IHEID, Geneva, *Jubin Goodarzi*, Webster University, Geneva, Consultant, United Nations, *Philippe Marini*, Chairman of the senatorial groups France-Syria and France-Saudi Arabia-Gulf States, *Émile El-Hokayem*, Researcher, The Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, *Ludovic Pouille*, Under Secretary for Northern Africa/Middle East, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Samer Ladkany*, Coordinator and Head of the European working group at the Orient Center for International Studies, Damascus.

#### **December 12 – The Arabian Peninsula in 2008: Stakes and Threats**

Among the subjects addressed: the Arabian Peninsula: a region free of turmoil? – Iran's shadow: fantasy or reality? – Risks and threats – Security systems.

With *Pierre Lévy*, Policy Planning Staff (CAP), French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Denis Bauchard*, Ifri, *Alain Gresh*, Deputy Director, *Le Monde diplomatique*, *Olivier Lafourcade*, Advisor to the Director General of the French Development Agency, *Fatiha Heni-Dazi*, expert on the Gulf

Monarchies, French Ministry of Defense, *Alexis Le Cour Grandmaison*, CAP, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, IHEID, Geneva, *Christian Koch*, Gulf Research Center, Dubai, *Laurence Louër*, Researcher, Sciences Po/CERI/CNRS, *Dominique Thomas*, Researcher, EHESS, Paris, *Walter Posch*, Institute for Security Studies, *Flynt Leverett*, Geopolitics of Energy Initiative, New America Foundation, Washington, *Patrice Paoli*, Director, North Africa/Middle East, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, *Prince Turki Al-Faisal*, President of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, Riyadh.

### Conferences-Debates

**July 4 – Syrian Policy: Towards a New Trend?**  
With *Walid Al-Mouallem*, Syrian Foreign Minister.



*Walid Al-Mouallem, Denis Bauchard*

**November 18 – Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine: the Middle East in the New US Administration's Agenda**  
With *Robert Malley*, Middle East Program Director, International Crisis Group (ICG), former Special Assistant to President Clinton for Arab-Israeli Affairs, and *Peter Harling*, Iraq-Syria-Lebanon Project Director, ICG.

# Middle East/ North Africa/ Mediterranean

## North Africa Program

For the countries of the European Union, and France in particular, North Africa is at once a close and distant region. The geographic proximity between France and North Africa is strengthened by the presence of a large and well-established immigrant community. Today, the occurrence of new phenomena is threatening those bonds. France, who fears terrorist acts by Islamic groups from North Africa and is concerned by the massive arrival of North Africans who are especially vulnerable to unemployment and social and political exclusion, is in turn held responsible by the other side for many of those evils: the increasing difficulty in obtaining European visas, the one-sided writing of the shared colonial history, and the perceived incompatibility between Judeo-Christian values and those of Islam.

It is thus important to look at this region from a different angle: if it faces difficulties in becoming an actor in globalization and ridding itself of the political and economic patterns constructed in the wake of independence, it is however not static and is changing considerably. The observed transformations, desired by the region's executive powers who are losing legitimacy and have run out of unifying projects, also owe their existence, however, to globalization, a phenomenon that the region seems to have been able to join only by almost breaking into it.

### Team



*Khadija Mohsen-Finan,*  
Head of Program, Research  
Fellow



There are four main research areas.

### Internal Dynamics and Governance

Focused on political transition processes and intra-North African relations. Regional integration remains of course central.

### North Africa in the World of International Relations

Relations with France, the role of the United States in the region, and the role of the North African states within the Union for the Mediterranean project. The priority step must be the study of relations between France and North African countries: the contentious history with Algeria, investment, scientific and military cooperation, visa policies, and the free movement of people.

### North African Security

The integration of the former Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) into the international Islamist movement, the GSPC's regional goals, suicide bombings in Casablanca.

### Economic Issues

Issues related to energy, foreign investment, banking reforms, the role of business in defining policy, reforms and growth.

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Notes de l'Ifri” Series

*Trente ans de conflit au Sahara occidental,* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, January.

*L'évolution du statut de la femme dans les pays du Maghreb,* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, June.

*Les défis de l'avenir, le capital humain et l'Union pour la Méditerranée,* Chekib Nouira, June.

*Les défis sécuritaires au Maghreb,* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, June.

*L'Union pour la Méditerranée : avatar d'une communauté méditerranéenne,* Ahmed Ounaïes, July.

*La politisation des jeunes dans les camps de réfugiés sahraouis,* Cédric Omet, July.

*Sécurité énergétique en Méditerranée occidentale : nouveaux facteurs, nouvelles politiques, un regard espagnol,* Aurélie Mañé-Estrada, October.

*Être jeune au Sahara occidental aujourd'hui,* Omar Brouksy, November.

#### • “Europe.Visions” Series

*“Le projet d'Union pour la Méditerranée ou une ambition française de reconsidérer le Sud,”* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, December.

#### • “Actuelles de l'Ifri” Series

*Le Maghreb et le projet d'Union pour la Méditerranée,* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, September.

*Algérie-Russie : coopération militaire et énergétique,* Kassim Bouhou, September.

### Outside Publications

*L'image de la femme au Maghreb,* Khadija Mohsen-Finan (ed), Arles, Actes Sud.

*“Méditerranée et nouveau Moyen-Orient : quelles constructions stratégiques ?,”* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, in *Quaterns de la Méditerranée*, IEMed, Barcelona, June.

*“Climats d'incertitudes au Maghreb,”* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, in *Site Casa Arabe*, Madrid, July.

*“Le sens des élections au Maghreb,”* Khadija Mohsen-Finan, in *Annuaire de la Méditerranée*, IEMed, Barcelona, October.

### Seminars and Debates

**March 11 – The Mediterranean Union Initiative: the Opinion of North African Countries**

With *Hassan Abouyoub*, former Minister, Ambassador-at-Large, Morocco, *Alain Le Roy*, Ambassador in charge of the Union for the Mediterranean, *Chekib Nouira*, President of the Arab Institute of Business Managers.

**November 19 – The Energy Ties Between the Two Shores of the Western Mediterranean**

With *Ihsane El Kadi*, journalist, Algiers, *Francis Ghilès*, Senior Fellow, IEMed, Barcelona, *Abdenour Keramane*, former Algerian Minister of Industry and Mines, Director of the journal *Medenergie*, Algiers, *Aurélia Mañé-Estrada*, Professor of Economic Policy, University of Barcelona, *Georges de Montravel*, Head of International Affairs, French electricity transmission network (RTE), *William Ramsay*, Ifri.

**December 9 – The Enterprise, a Vehicle for Institutional Change in the Maghreb?**

With *Nassim Kerdjoudj*, General Manager of NetSkills, President of CARE (Cercle d'action et de réflexion autour de l'entreprise) Club, Algiers, *Larbi Jaïdi*, Professor at the Rabat University, President of the Bouabid Foundation.



*Larbi Jaïdi, Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Nassim Kerdjoudj*

**December 16 – The Mediterranean: Economic Transformations in a Stagnant Environment**

With *Jacques Ould-Aoudia*, Policy Officer at the French Ministry of the Economy, Finance and Industry, and *Pierre Deusy*, Economic and Trade Affairs Manager, “EuroMed and Regional Issues” Unit, DG External Relations, European Commission.

### Conferences-Debates

**February 2 – France-Algeria: a Way Out of the Memory Conflict**

With *Benjamin Stora*, Professor of North African History at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO).

## Middle East/ North Africa/ Mediterranean

# Contemporary Turkey Program

Turkey's presence on the international scene grew in 2008 and the Turkish market's potential became even more apparent. The country's domestic political dynamics however remain difficult to understand for the uninformed observer. In this context, the Contemporary Turkey program has two goals. It aims first to revise the tools used for analysis and the concepts that are traditionally applied to Turkey, in order to move past reductionist clichés and more closely follow current changes affecting the Turkish political system, society and economy. We also attempt to promote French-Turkish dialogue by creating new and diverse partnerships, in order to better understand Turkey's future directions.

### Team



*Dorothee Schmid*,  
Head of Program, Research  
Fellow  
Areas of expertise: Turkey,  
Mediterranean

*Özgün Özçer*, Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: Turkey

### Research Areas

The Contemporary Turkey program began in 2008 and concentrated on three components of French-Turkish dialogue.

#### Political Dialogue

Given the on-going French-Turkish tensions at the diplomatic level, the program plans to open up debate between researchers, politicians and civil society players from the two countries, so as to clarify certain contentious issues. A successful partnership has already been developed with the Istanbul-based TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies) Foundation.

#### Business Dialogue

French-Turkish economic relations are healthy, but bilateral political tensions often lead to retaliation against French interests. It is vital that each side is better informed and that dialogue is renewed in order to bring predictability to business and help actors from the private sector to independently deal with risks posed by the political situation.

#### Media Dialogue

In order to efficiently promote dialogue between the civil societies, it is necessary to understand the role that the media play in each country in terms of constructing views of each other. Currently, despite an undeniable interest on both sides, contacts between journalists from one and the other remain scarce. To respond to this, we are working to create an informal group of French-Turkish media that will provide a forum for debate over common current events and issues.

In the medium term, the program will also be home to a “**Contemporary Turkey Observatory**” where experts and journalists will debate core subjects such as: Europe/Turkey negotiations; French-Turkish relations; stakes of modernizing the Turkish economy, before and after the crisis; the process of political adjustment in Turkey; strategic alternatives for Turkey, beyond the EU.

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Repères sur la Turquie” Series

*Turquie : le discours de la crise*,  
*Dorothee Schmid*, n° 1, September.

*La diplomatie turque : une émancipation internationale sous quelles conditions ?*  
*Özgün Özçer*, n° 2, December.

#### Article

“*La Turquie et l’Union pour la Méditerranée : un partenariat calculé*,”  
*Dorothee Schmid*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

### Outside Publications

“*Les francophones turcs s’expriment sur l’impact de la politique française*,”  
*Dorothee Schmid*, foreword to *Rapport* by *Nicole Pope*, OSIAF Turkey, Istanbul.

“*L’Union pour la Méditerranée : un nouveau moteur français pour les politiques européennes en Méditerranée ?*,”  
*Dorothee Schmid*, DGAP-Analyse-Frankreich, n° 1, January.

“*Union for the Mediterranean, Disunity for the EU?*”

*Dorothee Schmid*, with *Rosa Balfour*, in *Policy Brief*, European Policy Center, February.

### Seminars, Round Tables

**May 13 – Turkey and the EU: Key Current Issues**  
With *Dorothee Schmid*, “Ifri’s Tuesdays in Brussels.”

**June 12 – US-Turkey Relations: an Evolving Strategic Partnership**  
With *Abdullah Akyüz*, representative of TÜSIAD (Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association) in the United States.

**December 19 – Media Dialogue: First French-Turkish Journalists Meeting**

### International Conference

**December 18 – Turkey and Europe After the French Presidency of the EU**, Palais du Luxembourg, Paris  
Among the subjects addressed: French-Turkish relations in the European context – The EU enlargement process and the Turkish case – The impact of the accession process on Turkish political life – The French Presidency of the EU and the “Turkish question.”

With *Pierre Fauchon*, French Senator, *Mensur Akgün*, TESEV, *Ahmet Davutoglu*, Chief Advisor to the Turkish Prime Minister, *Sabiha Senyücel*, TESEV, *Robert del Picchia*, French Senator, Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Defense and Armed Forces, *Beril Dedeoglu*, Galatasaray University, *Nicolas Monceau*, CNRS, *Hakan Altınay*, Open Society Institute, *Riccardo Serri*, DG Enlargement, European Commission, *Semih Idiz*, journalist, *Milliyet*, *Pierre Ménat*, Director of European Cooperation, French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs, *Marc Semo*, journalist, *Libération*, *Daniel Lequertier*, former French Ambassador to Turkey, *Oguz Demiralp*, Ambassador, Secretary General of European Affairs, *Ugur Yuçe*, Vice-President, Turkish-French Business Council, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

## Middle East/ North Africa/ Mediterranean

### Iran Program

Created in 2005, the Iran program aims to monitor and analyze the Islamic Republic of Iran's domestic economic situation, energy issues and foreign policy. It disseminates expert analysis from French, Iranian and international specialists on Iran, a country that remains not well understood despite its increasing geopolitical importance. Iran has become one of the major powers in the Middle East and Tehran is now an essential actor in the resolution of regional crises. Nonetheless, its domestic economic situation remains unstable and very dependent on the price of oil. It is thus important to analyze the relationship between the internal political and economic situation and the foreign policy, and to study to what extent external economic pressures influence Iran's place in the international system.

#### Team

*Denis Bauchard*, Special Advisor for the Middle East



*Clément Therme*,  
Junior Research Fellow

#### Research Areas

The program focuses on four research themes:

- Oil issues
- Gas stakes in Iranian-European relations
- The Islamic Republic of Iran's political system
- Iran's relations with the world's major powers (the United States, the EU, Russia, China)

#### Electronic Publications

- “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

*L’Iran, exportateur de gaz ?*,  
*Clément Therme*, March.

- “Perspectives Moyen-Orient/  
Méditerranée” Series

*Le chrysanthème et la rose : les relations nippono-iraniennes contemporaines*,  
*Thierry Kellner*, January.

#### Articles

“Le flanc est de l’Iran : opportunités et vulnérabilités,” *Clément Therme* and *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2008.

“Iran. Le positionnement international de Téhéran,” *Clément Therme*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

#### Outside Publications

“L’alliance irano-arménienne,”  
*Clément Therme*, in *Journal of International and Strategic Studies*, April.

“L’Iran en Amérique latine, la République islamique dans le pré carré des États-Unis,”  
*Clément Therme* and *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, in *Maghreb-Machrek*, November.



## Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

### Relations Between the European Union, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Launched in 2008, the research program on Relations between the European Union, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa is based on a French-Moroccan partnership and is financially supported by the Office chérifien des phosphates (OCP).

Based on the self-evident fact that the futures of European, North African and Sub-Saharan African countries are all closely linked by geography, history, demographics and the economy, this program aims to explore the relations between the Northern and Southern Mediterranean and to examine possible future regional dynamics. It seeks to move beyond the limits of conventional analysis in order to offer solutions based on constructive partnerships, and to bring together the European framework of thought, the transatlantic debate and the “southern” way of thinking. The program also covers four additional research angles dictated by pressing current issues that may become the subject of further study in the future: governance, North African-African relations, migrations, and regional economic integration.

#### Team

*Alain Antil*, Head of the Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Research Fellow

*Christophe Bertossi*, Director of the “Migrations, Identities, Citizenship” program, Research Fellow

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Director of the North Africa program, Research Fellow

*Françoise Nicolas*, Senior Economist, specialist on emerging countries

*Ivan Martin*, Senior Economist, expert in EU-North African relations

*Jacques Mistral*, Director of Economic Studies Coordinator for 2008: *Dorothee Schmid*

Coordinator from 2009 onwards:

*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

## Research Areas

### Governance and Political Action in North Africa (*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*)

The issue of political governance in North Africa is especially important today for a European Union that hesitates between agreeing in principle with the idea of an opening up, and taking a more realistic stance by pushing for regime stabilization in an often convulsive security environment. A section of the EU's neighborhood policy vis-à-vis these countries explicitly addresses the strengthening of political opening up. The object of this research area is to determine if, in the framework of current European projects (including the Union for the Mediterranean), there exist possibilities for creating a partnership that is adapted to the current conditions of globalization (the EU is not the only partner of these countries) and balanced in its functioning. This work proceeds on the premise that the notion of good governance must be applied in the North as in the South, both among states and private actors.

### North African - Sub-Saharan African Relations (*Alain Antil*)

This work will progress in three successive directions. First, the program will focus on stability issues in the Sahel region, looking particularly at trafficking and the development of Tuareg irredentist movements in Niger and Mali, so as to understand their effects in North Africa. Secondly, research on the diplomatic, economic and cultural dimensions of Morocco's Africa policy will be conducted. The main tools and actors of this policy will be examined, and the differences and similarities between the Africa policies of certain European countries will be identified. A third area will be consecrated to a prospective outlook on African agriculture, notably the conditions for a future green revolution and the social and economic transformations that would go along with it.

### Migrations and Co-Development in Relations Between North Africa, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa (*Christophe Bertossi*)

This area concerns the transformation of migration in North African countries in light of the new geography of migrations between Sub-Saharan Africa and EU states. In response to developments in this parameter (the emergence of transit migrations in North Africa, the recent connection of Sub-Saharan Africa to international migrations, etc.), the EU states, supported by Community institutions, are taking a "global" approach to migrations, and developing partnerships with countries of origin and transit states, in order to govern migratory flows. One of the objectives of the research is thus to deconstruct the notion of "co-development," a concept over which most parties seem in agreement as far as the definition of Europe's immigration policies for the next few decades is concerned, but whose contours and content remain vague.

**Regional Economic Integration** (*Ivan Martin, Françoise Nicolas, Dorothée Schmid*, with the scientific support of *Jacques Mistral*)

This area analyzes North African regional integration, works to improve economic relations between the EU/North Africa/Sub-Saharan Africa, and more generally studies North Africa's insertion into the global economy. It also focuses on the economic strategies of actors from outside the region, whether former partners (Europe) or new ones (the US, China, India) and their compatibility and ability to complement one another. Methods for overcoming traditional political obstacles to North African sub-regional integration, notably through the study of Algerian-Moroccan relations, will also be investigated.

## Seminars

### November 29 – French-Moroccan Brainstorming Seminar for the Launch of the Program

Workshop for the launch of the European Union, North Africa and Africa program (2008-2011). The program's research areas as well as the recommended method for carrying out this joint project between the OCP Group and Ifri were defined at that meeting. The event brought together directors from both institutions: *Mostafa Terrab*, President of the OCP Group, and *Thierry de Montbrial*, President of Ifri.

The researchers in charge of the project (*Jacques Mistral, Ivan Martin, Christophe Bertossi, Françoise Nicolas, Alain Antil, Dorothée Schmid and Khadija Mohsen-Finan*) discussed themes related to their areas of research. The persons in charge of management and program follow-up from both institutes were also present (*Dominique David, Amar Drissi, Brynhild Dumas, Valérie Genin*).

### December 5 – Security Issues on the Frontier of the Mediterranean Space: the Sahel-Saharan Zone

Bringing together European and African experts, this seminar examined certain phenomena (trafficking, irredentist demands, development of radical Islam, geopolitical tensions around economic stakes, etc.) that today threaten the fragile social, economic, political and geopolitical balance in the Sahel-Saharan region. In order to understand such dynamics, the seminar aimed to put those issues into their societal context and also within a longer-term perspective, and to articulate both approaches over two round tables: "Exchanges, trafficking and monitoring trafficking," and "Sahelian Geopolitics and State Fragility" (see the *Sub-Saharan Africa program*).

## Africa

# Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Ifri's Sub-Saharan Africa program was created at the end of 2007. Its objective is to revise the tools that policy makers, journalists, and the general public use to analyze and understand the African continent, notably by highlighting the French and international research on the subject and by bringing together different types of expertise (researchers, military actors, bureaucrats, businessmen, NGOs, etc.). The program is resolutely policy oriented and aims to contribute to the emergence of new, better-informed, and more effective policies vis-à-vis Africa, at a time when the continent is evolving at a fast pace, often in deep and contrasted ways.

## Team



*Alain Antil*, Head of Program, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: Mauritania, Sahel, West Africa, political and social issues, security



*Sylvain Touati*, Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: Mali, West Africa, electoral issues, France's African policies

*Thierry Vircoulon*, Associate Researcher  
Areas of expertise: Africa, conflict prevention/resolution, conflict/war

## Research Areas

Sub-Saharan Africa is rapidly changing. Its population will double by 2020, and the continent at large is becoming rapidly urbanized. Sub-regional powers are asserting their leadership and new forms of religion are emerging, at the same time as new forms of solidarity. Ideologies are at the heart of the construction of new identities –religion, increasingly anti-Western discourse, agrarian and nationalist ideologies, etc. In addition, foreign actors, new and old, are fighting for influence in Africa, reviving an old game that had gone forgotten since the end of the Cold War: former colonial powers, former superpowers, China, Libya, Algeria, India, Iran, Brazil, Japan, South Korea, etc., but also non-state actors (Hezbollah, Al-Qaeda).

Will the state in Sub-Saharan Africa simply become one institution among the many that control and organize society (community associations, the Church, traditional chiefs, warlords), or will it retain its dominance? How is conflict going to evolve? What will be the consequences of the presence of an increasing number of young men who are now less integrated into family structures and the local economic fabric, and thus easier to mobilize for political, military or other reasons? How will the increasing infrastructure needs (education, health, roads, water distribution, etc.), created by demographic explosion and rapid urbanization, be paid for?

These issues are addressed through three research areas:

- **The evolution of the state in Sub-Saharan Africa**, notably when confronted with the emergence of oligarchic powers, the evolution of power during elections and the establishment of flexible types of democracy.
- **The growth of new ideologies** (nationalism, demands for self-determination, anti-Western discourse), religion models (fundamentalist Islam, Evangelical Protestantism) and their impact on the political landscape.
- **Africa in international relations**, the Africa policies of Africa's traditional partners, the emerging actors, and rising competition over the continent's resources.

## Electronic Publications

### • “Actuelles de l’Ifri” Series

The series “L’Afrique en questions” presents interviews with experts on African issues, carried out by the program’s researchers.

**Crise kenyane**, interview with *Hervé Maupeu*, Professor at the University of Pau and the Pays de l’Adour, Director of the Centre de recherche et d’études sur les pays d’Afrique orientale (CREPAO), n° 1, February.

**Mauritanie : menaces sécuritaires sur une jeune démocratie**, interview with *Alain Antil*, n° 2, May.

**Les élections angolaises de septembre 2008**, interview with *Indira Campos*, Assistant Researcher with Africa Program at Chatham House, n° 3, September.

**La chute et la succession de Thabo Mbeki**, interview with *Thierry Vircoulon*, n° 4, November.

### • “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

**Les dynamiques paradoxales du pentecôtisme en Afrique subsaharienne**, *Cédric Mayrargue*, Researcher at the Centre d’études d’Afrique noire, Bordeaux, April.

**Les accords de partenariat économique : un chemin critique vers l’intégration régionale et la libéralisation des échanges**, *Jean-François Sempéré*, Researcher and Director at the Institut de recherche et d’applications des méthodes de développement (IRAM), November.

## Article

“**Afrique. Les rébellions touarègues et la crise de l’État**,” *Alain Antil* (introduction to the Africa section), in *RAMSES* 2009.



## Seminars

### May 6 – Growth, Governance and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa

With *Ethan Kapstein*, Associate Researcher at Ifri, Professor at INSEAD.

### October 17 – Rural Land Issues as a Crisis Factor in Sub-Saharan Africa: South Africa, Côte d’Ivoire, Kenya

With *Nancy Andrew*, Associate Researcher at the Centre d’étude d’Afrique noire, Bordeaux, *Alfred Babo*, Professor at Bouaké University, Côte d’Ivoire, *Claire Médard*, Researcher at the Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD).

### December 5 – Security Issues on the Frontier of the Mediterranean Space: the Sahel-Saharan Zone

With *Julien Brachet*, Researcher at IRD and at University of Paris I, *Jean-Luc Peduzzi*, Police Chief, French Police International Technical Cooperation Department, Nouakchott, *Cheickna Hamalah Sylla*, Publication Director, L’Aube, Bamako, *Charles Grémont*, Associate Researcher at the African Worlds Research Center, Aix-en-Provence, *Dida Badi*, Researcher at the National Center of Prehistoric, Anthropological and Historical Research, Algiers, *Chérif Ouazani*, journalist, *Jeune Afrique*, *Alain Antil*, Ifri.

## Lunch-Debates

**April 25 – Lunch-debate** with *Jacob Zuma*, President of the Africa National Congress (ANC).

**June 10 – Lunch-debate** with *Kofi Annan*, former Secretary General of the United Nations, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, President of the Global Humanitarian Forum.

## International Interventions

### January 31 – Emerging Countries and Old Actors:

**Different Strategies for an African Presence; Chinese, US and Indian Examples**, Amiens Speech by *Alain Antil* at the annual Trinôme Defense seminar “Africa, a Continent on the Periphery.”

### November 17-18 – Morocco’s New Africa Policy. The Case of Mauritania

Rabat Speech by *Alain Antil* at the international conference on “Morocco’s Africa Policy,” organized by the Institute of African Studies.



## The United States

# United States Program

French policies are often poorly interpreted by American leaders. The United States, on the other hand, appears to be better understood in France, but the specificities of its political, economic and social systems often remain misinterpreted. In 2008, the United States Program replaced the French Center on the United States, which was created at Ifri in 1999 and directed by Guillaume Parmentier until 2007. The goal of the current program is to lead in-depth research on the United States on themes relevant to public and private policy makers.

### Team



Jacques Mistral,  
Coordinator



Laurence Nardon, Research  
Fellow (beginning in 2009)

### Research Areas

#### US Elections program

The election of Barack Obama in November 2008 shook up the United States and became a key global event of the year, with direct consequences for the rest of the world, and for Europe and France in particular. It is thus crucial to understand the forces at play and the stakes involved in it. The program therefore began studying the challenges that await this new America.

The goal is to provide global coverage of domestic political, economic and financial themes, societal matters and foreign policy issues.

Two events took place in fall 2008: a seminar before the presidential elections and a one-day conference in December. The program was able to bring together US specialists (before and after the elections), and high-level stakeholders from both sides of the Atlantic, from politics as well as from business and academia. At those conferences, held only a few weeks apart, the reorientation of domestic and foreign policies, as well as societal and economic changes were analyzed.

These initiatives will be carried on in 2009 to study the new Administration's implementation of programs, the obstacles it encounters and the new perspectives it opens up.

### Round Table

#### October 15 – The Stakes of the American Presidential Elections

With *Steven Erlanger*, *New York Times*, Paris, *André Kaspi*, Professor Emeritus at the Sorbonne, author of *Comprendre les États-Unis d'aujourd'hui*, *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri, author of *La Troisième Révolution américaine*, *François Bujon de l'Estang*, former French Ambassador to Washington, President of Citigroup France.

### Conferences

#### April 17 – The Collapse of Bipartisanship and Its Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy

With *Charles Kupchan*, Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and Professor of international relations at Georgetown University.

#### December 9 – What Is the Future of the War on Terror?

With *Ian Shapiro*, Sterling Professor of Political Science, Yale University.

### International Conference

#### December 10 – Challenges Facing a New America

Among the subjects addressed: a new political landscape: how will Barack Obama lead? – A changing society: how will America overcome its divisions? – The financial crisis and the future of the economy: can economic policies restore confidence in the future? – The United States and the world order: continuity and change in American foreign policy. With *Steven Erlanger*, *New York Times*, Paris, *Steven Clemons*, the New American Foundation, *Stanley Greenberg*, CEO of Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, *André Kaspi*, Professor Emeritus at the Sorbonne, *Axel Krause*, *Transatlantic Magazine*, *Denis Lacome*, CERL-

Sciences Po, *Ian Shapiro*, Yale University, *Alan Wolfe*, Boston College, *Philippe Lagayette*, JPMorgan Chase Bank, *William Adams*, University of Michigan, *Michel Aglietta*, University of Paris X, *Jean-Philippe Cotis*, Director, INSEE, *Alessandra Galloni*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *François Bujon de l'Estang*, former Ambassador to Washington, *Francis Fukuyama*, Johns Hopkins University, *Ian Lesser*, German Marshall Fund, *Dominique Moïsi*, Ifri, *Hubert Védrine*, former French Foreign Minister.



Pierre Melandri, Denis Lacorne, Axel Krause,  
Ian Shapiro, Alan Wolfe



François Bujon de l'Estang, Francis Fukuyama,  
Dominique Moïsi



Jacques Mistral, Thierry de Montbrial, Mark Pekala

# The United States

---

## Transatlantic Program

---

The three-year Transatlantic Program was launched in 2005. Its goal is to evaluate European and American perceptions on major issues, particularly those important to the evolution of transatlantic dialogue.

The program focuses on three research areas and profits from the input of various Ifri centers and programs: the Russia/NIS Center, the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations and the “Economic Studies” program. Research is complemented by seminars and publications.

### Team



*Dominique Moïsi,*  
Scientific Coordinator

*Thomas Gomart,* Research Fellow, Director of the Russia/NIS Center

*Hans Stark,* Secretary General of Cerfa

*Jacques Mistral,* Director of Economic Studies

Steering Committee:

*Thierry de Montbrial,* *Dominique Moïsi,* *Robin Niblett* (Chatham House), *Ethan Kapstein* (INSEAD), *Michael Innacker* (DaimlerChrysler), *Pierre-Antoine Badoz* (France Télécom).

### Publications

The studies carried out in the framework of the Transatlantic Program have been published or co-published in Ifri collections online or in *Politique étrangère*.

#### • CSIS and Ifri Co-Publications

**U.S.-Russia Relations, Facing Reality Pragmatically,** *Thomas Graham,* July.

**EU-Russia Relations, Toward a Way out of Depression,** *Thomas Gomart,* July.

**U.S.-Russia Strategic Partnership against Nuclear Proliferation,** *Pierre Goldschmidt,* July.

**Toward a New Euro-Atlantic “Hard” Security Agenda: Prospects for Trilateral U.S.-EU-Russia Cooperation,** *Dmitri Trenin,* August.

**Russia and the West: the Energy Factor,** *Vladimir Milov,* September.

**Russia’s 2020 Strategic Economic Goals and the Role of International Integration,** *Andrew C. Kuchins, Amy Beavin and Anna Bryndza,* September.

**The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà Vu ?,** *Julianne Smith,* November.

Articles by *Thomas Graham* and *Julianne Smith* were the object of a special translation in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2008.



#### • *Politique étrangère*

“Un débat transatlantique sur l’UE et son voisinage” (section), *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008:

“Le voisinage de l’Union européenne : sphère de sécurité, réseau de connexions ou mariage de convenances ?,” *Esther Brimmer;*

“La politique européenne de voisinage. Perspectives internes et externes,” *Barbara Lippert;*

“L’Union pour la Méditerranée : un défi européen,” *Denis Bauchard;*

“La Turquie et l’Union pour la Méditerranée: un partenariat calculé,” *Dorothee Schmid.*

#### • Electronic Publication

The French and Korean System of Innovation in the Telecommunications Sector: a Comparative Approach, *Jacques Mistral* (ed.).

### Seminars, Round Tables

**May 16 – Europe, Russia and the United States: Finding a New Balance,** Washington

Seminar held in cooperation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). The objective was to discuss the texts to be published in the framework of the first research area: the Euro-American debate on Russian developments and their political consequences.

With *Keith Crane, Jonathan Elkind, Stephen Flanagan, James Goldgeier, Thomas Gomart, Andrew Kuchins, Stephen Larrabee, Robert Nurick, Angela Stent, Cory Welt.*

**October 1 – The Telecommunications Sector**

This round table was organized under the supervision of *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri, in the framework of the second research area, “Innovation, Competition and Regulation,” in order to discuss the research results.

With *David Flacher,* University of Paris XIII, *Nicolas Curien,* member of the Autorité de régulation des télécommunications, *Catherine Lejealle,* Télécom ParisTech, *Sébastien Magnaval,* Program Director, Opticsvalley, *Jacques Mistral,* Ifri.

**February 25 – Using Telecommunications Regulation to Create Competition and Innovation,** Brussels

With *Paul Champsaur,* former President of ARCEP, *Fabio Colasanti,* DG Information, Society and Media, European Commission, *Jacques Mistral,* Ifri.

## CROSS-CUTTING PROGRAMS

# Center for Security Studies Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Since the 1990s, the Center for Security Studies has contributed to strategic security analysis in France and Europe through its original research, publications (articles and books in French and English) and private and focused seminars, bringing together public and private policy makers and initiating debate.

The clean lines of the Cold War have been superseded by crises and conflicts that involve heterogeneous actors and evolving strategies. As a consequence, security issues today require an integrated approach that takes into account both regional and global aspects, political and military as well as media and human dynamics, and even terrorism and post-conflict stabilization.

### Team



*Étienne de Durand*, Director of the Center and the Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Areas of expertise: strategic issues, French and American defense policies, the “transformation” of force structures, major military interventions (Afghanistan, Iraq), proliferation of weapons of mass destruction



*Marc Hecker*, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: terrorism, asymmetrical conflicts

*Aline Lebœuf*, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: evolution of conflicts, post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction, African conflicts –also in charge of the “Health and Environment” program (*From Security and Safety Issues to New Governance Options*)



*Corentin Brustlein*, Research Fellow, also a part of the LRD  
Areas of expertise: military transformation, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, strategic theory

Lieutenant-colonel *Laurent Fromaget*, Army Officer, Research Fellow with the LRD  
Areas of expertise: French and American defense policies, contemporary military interventions

Major *Anne-Henry Budan de Russé*, Army Officer, Research Fellow with the LRD  
Areas of expertise: military transformation, contemporary stabilization operations, the capacity approach of Western armed forces, French and European defense and security policies

### Associate Researchers

*Kerry Longhurst*, Associate Research Fellow, Marie Curie Fellowship  
Areas of expertise: European Neighborhood Policy, Common Foreign and Security Policy

*Krzysztof Soloch*, Associate Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: European security issues (NATO and the CFSP), Polish foreign and security policy, democratic transitions in Eastern Europe, policies East of the EU and energy security

### Research Areas

The Center for Security Studies aims to study traditional defense issues, analyze the evolution of the security field and anticipate future developments in conflict. Our programs are long-term oriented. They are multidisciplinary by nature and require regular collaboration with other research programs at Ifri.

**The Evolution of Conflicts:** study of non-conventional forms of conflict (terrorism, insurrections, asymmetrical conflict); analysis of long-term conflict perspectives; human security issues.

**The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction**, in particular through a permanent program in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA).

**Analysis of Major Security Policies:** this area includes both general themes (transatlantic relations and European security) as well as strategic regional studies carried out in cooperation with other Ifri programs.

**The Evolution of Force Structures and Methods of Intervention:** “military transformation,” foreign interventions and stabilization operations from actual stabilization up to reconstruction and exit strategies. The LRD was specifically created to focus on these issues.

### Defense Research Unit (LRD)

One of the most significant consequences of the geostrategic changes that have occurred in recent years is the escalation of military interventions around the world. However, there is a profound lack of debate in France on the strategic and operational implications of this phenomenon. This is why the **Defense Research Unit (Laboratoire de recherche sur la défense, LRD** in

French) was created at Ifri. Its unique and innovative objectives and structure allow LRD to bring together civil and military experts from Ifri, the Army, as well as occasional outside partners. The LRD makes recommendations addressed to all security actors through its original research that is not tied to any institution.

The Center for Security Studies and the Defense Research Unit publish two electronic collections: “Proliferation Papers” and “Focus stratégique.” It also organizes open or closed seminars and lunches and dinners with international experts.

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Proliferation Papers” Series

Iran’s “Risk-Taking” in Perspective, *Sharam Chubin*, n° 21, winter.

Principles for Reforming the Nuclear Order, *George Perkovich*, n° 22, fall.

President-elect Obama and Nuclear Disarmament. Between Restraint and Elimination, *William Walker*, n° 23, winter.

#### • “Focus stratégique” Series

Stabiliser autrement ? Les équipes provinciales de reconstruction (PRT) en Afghanistan, *Paul Haéri* and *Laurent Fromaget*, n° 4, January.

Birthing Athena – The Uncertain Future of European Security and Defense Policy, *Christopher S. Chivvis*, n° 5, March.

Du bon usage de la terre, *Marc Hecker*, n° 6, April.

L’aide au développement face à la guerre, *Jean-Bernard Véron*, n° 7, May.

La notion de partage capacitaire en question, *Philippe Coquet*, n° 8, June.

Candide au Congo – L’échec annoncé de la réforme du secteur de sécurité (RSS), *Sébastien Melmot*, n° 9, September.

La surprise stratégique – De la notion aux implications, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 10, October.

Transforming for What? Challenges Facing Western Militaries Today, *John Gordon*, n° 11, November.

La tentation internationale d’Al-Qaïda au Maghreb, *Mathieu Guidère*, n° 12, December.

#### • “Russie.Nei.Visions” Series

Différencier la politique européenne de voisinage : quelles implications pour l’Ukraine ?, *Kerry Longhurst*, n° 32, July.

#### • “Actuelles de l’Ifri” Series

Les défis de la politique européenne de voisinage après le traité de Lisbonne, *Kerry Longhurst*, May.

### Articles

“Législatives en Pologne : quel changement ?,” *Kerry Longhurst*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

“Les métamorphoses de la guerre. L’âge des interventions limitées,” *Étienne de Durand* (introduction to the part on “Questions stratégiques”), in *RAMSES* 2009.

“PESD et OTAN. Quelles évolutions ?,” *Krzysztof Soloch*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Technologie et guerre. Fin de la RMA et adaptation aux conflits asymétriques,” *Philippe Coquet*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Maintien de la paix et stabilisation. La fin du monopole des Casques bleus,” *Laurent Fromaget*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Terrorisme. Un djihad aux visages multiples,” *Marc Hecker*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Prolifération nucléaire. Des crises nucléaires persistantes,” *Corentin Brustlein*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

“Espace militaire. Entre provocations et bonne conduite,” *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2009*.

## Outside Publications

- Corentin Brustlein

“Guerre du Vietnam” and “Guerre de Corée,” in *Alain Renaut* (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la culture politique contemporaine*, Paris, Hermann.

- Marc Hecker

“Oussama Ben Laden,” “11 septembre 2001” and “Ariel Sharon,” in *Alain Renaut* (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la culture politique contemporaine*, Paris, Hermann.

“Les trois âges du terrorisme,” in *Commentaire*, n° 121, spring.

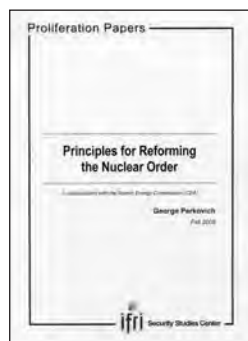
- Laurent Fromaget

“Les ‘Provincial Reconstruction Teams’ en Afghanistan,” in *Les cahiers du CESAT*, September.

- Kerry Longhurst

“Polish Foreign and Security Policy After the Parliamentary Elections,” in *The European Courier*, 12 January.

“Polish Atlanticism on the Move,” in *American Foreign Policy Interest*, vol. 30, n° 3, May-June.



## Seminars, Round Tables

### • Closed Seminars in the Framework of the “Proliferation” Program (in cooperation with the CEA)

**March 14 – Nuclear Energy, Proliferation and Disarmament. The Evolving U.S. View**  
With *George Perkovich*, Vice-President for Studies, Global Security and Economic Development, Director of the Nonproliferation Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**May 26 – Dangerous Weapons in the Hands of Dangerous People: Challenges of CBW Terrorism**  
With *Michael Moodie*, former President of the Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute, Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

### November 24 – One-day Seminar – The End of the Nuclear Taboo?

With *James Russell*, Center for Contemporary Conflict, Monterey Naval Postgraduate School, *Ashley Tellis*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Paul Schulte*, Centre for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics and Political Science, *William Potter*, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, *Mark Fitzpatrick*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, *William Walker*, St Andrews University, *Pierre Hassner*, CERI, *Mark Schneider*, National Institute for Public Policy.

### • Closed Seminars

#### February 25 – Prevention of Terrorism and Biological Crimes

With *Barry Kellman*, Director, International Weapons Control Center and International Law Professor, DePaul University, Chicago

#### May 14 – Europe Faced With Nation-Building: From the Balkans to Congo

With *James F. Dobbins*, Ambassador, expert on security issues at the RAND Corporation, Washington.

## LRD Seminars

#### February 7 – The Vulnerability of Information Systems

With *Myriam A. Dunn*, Director of Research on “new risks” at the Center for Security Studies at the Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich.

#### April 25 – Transforming for What? The Challenges Faced by Western Militaries in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century

With *John Gordon*, Senior Policy Researcher at the RAND Corporation, Washington, Professor at Georgetown University.

## LRD Conferences

#### April 24 – Evolving Global Issues and the Role of Military Power

With *Michael W. Wynne*, Secretary of the US Air Force.

#### November 13 – Security Options and Stakes for the New American Administration

With *Christopher S. Chivvis*, Researcher at the RAND Corporation, Washington.

## Conferences

#### March 12 – NATO: After Bucharest

With *Jean-François Bureau*, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO.

#### June 18 – Security Faced With the Threat of Climate Change

With General *Gordon Sullivan*, former US Chief of

Staff of the Army, President of the Association of the United States Army, *Hubert Védrine*, former French Foreign Minister.



*Dominique Moisi, Gordon Sullivan, Bernard Thorette*



*Hubert Védrine, Gordon Sullivan*

Participation in the “Think Tank Village” at *Eurosatory 2008* (June 16-20). The Center for Security Studies and Defense Research Unit joined with other think tanks (RUSI, FRS, SIPRI) to offer conference-debates on defense and security issues during the defense tradeshow.

## Brown Bag Seminars

### • “Crossed Adaptations and Innovations” Cycle, 2007-2008

#### January 17 – IED and the Anti-IED Struggle: Adaptation Goes on With War

With *Pierre-André Roth*, Assistant Director of the Centre interarmées de concepts, de doctrines et d'expérimentations (CICDE).

#### February 21 – The Insurgents and the US Army in Iraq: Shared Learning

With Colonel *Michel Goya*, in charge of analysis of past French and foreign operations in Asia/the Middle East, Centre de doctrine d'emploi des forces (CDEF, Army).

#### March 13 – Counter-insurgency or Stabilization: Past Lessons Learned

With *Gérard Chaliand*, theorist of guerilla warfare, specialist in political and strategic issues.

#### April 17 – PRTs in Afghanistan

With *Paul Haéri*, Army Field Officer, Army Staff.

#### May 15 – Innovation for Improving the Interministerial Management of Crises

With *Muriel Domenach*, Assistant Director of the Policy Planning Staff, French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs.

#### June 12 – Methods of Operation for Tomorrow's Conflicts

With *Aline Lebœuf*, Ifri.

• “Strategic Forecast and Analysis”  
Cycle, 2008-2009

September 11 – The Future of Terrorism  
With *Marc Hecker*, Ifri.

October 9 – Strategic Surprises and Pre-emption  
With *Corentin Brustlein*, Ifri.

November 6 – The UK Horizon Scanning Center:  
Compared Benefits of Different Foresight  
Methodologies for Strategic Analysis  
With *Alun Rhydderch*, Analyst, UK Horizon Scanning  
Center, London.

December 11 – The Use of Trends as Forecasting  
Tools: Demographics and Geopolitics  
With *Gérard-François Dumont*, Professor at the  
University of Paris IV Sorbonne.

**Lunch-Debate, Press Club de France**

May 28 – The White Paper on Defense and Security:  
Context and Implications  
With *Étienne de Durand*.

**International Conferences**

October 4-5 – The Next Phase in the Evolution of  
Islamist Extremism – Four-Party Meeting at the  
Siftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin  
This conference brought together the directors of  
four institutes (the RAND Corporation, SWP, Chatham  
House and Ifri), high level officials and experts. This  
meeting takes place at a different institute each year.  
Main subjects addressed: approaches to the Middle  
East – NATO: structural changes and the Afghanistan  
mission – How to deal with the new Russia? – Energy  
and climate change.

With *James A. Thomson*, President, The RAND  
Corporation, Volker Perthes, Director, SWP, *Thierry de  
Montbrial*, Ifri, *Muriel Asseburg*, SWP, *Markus Ederer*,  
German Foreign Office, *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri, *James  
Sherr*, Chatham House, *Keith Crane*, RAND  
Corporation, *Bernice Lee*, Chatham House.

November 28 – A New Transatlantic Era – Ifri/Polish  
Institute of International Affairs (PISM) Seminar,  
Warsaw

Main subjects addressed: NATO: towards a new  
strategic concept – Redefining relations with Russia  
in European and Transatlantic relations –  
Proliferation, deterrence and antimissile defense:  
convergences and divergences – Relations between  
the US and the EU.

With *Slavomir Debski*, Director of the PISM, *Adam  
Kobieracki*, Director of the Department of Security  
Policy, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Eric Millet*,  
Assistant to the Under-Secretary of Eastern Europe,  
French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs,  
General *Emmanuel de Romémont*, Assistant to the  
Director of the Delegation of Strategic Affairs, French  
Ministry of Defense, *Marek Szczygiel*, Assistant  
Director of the Department of Security Policy, Polish  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Leszek Jesien*, PISM,  
*Dominique David*, *Étienne de Durand* and *Krzysztof  
Solocho*, Ifri.

• Participations of Étienne de Durand

May 29-30 – France and Austria in EU Defense Policy,  
Centre franco-autrichien (Vienna)  
With *Laurent Fromaget* and *Krzysztof Solocho*.

June 13 – French Security Policy, ECT (Zurich)

June 25 – The White Paper on Defense and Security:  
Context and Implications, Ifri Brussels

November 3 – Reforming NATO for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,  
Washington

Conference organized by the Atlantic Council of the  
United States, The Strategic Advisors Group, The  
Center for Strategic and International Studies, The  
Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins  
SAIS, National Defense University.

November 21 – Assessing NATO Capabilities in a  
Mission-Based Context, Washington  
Conference organized by The Atlantic Council of the  
United States, The Center for Strategic and  
International Studies, National Defense University.

December 6-8 – Change in the White House? Berlin  
Seminar organized by the Konrad Adenauer  
Foundation.

• Participation of Kerry Longhurst

June – Rapporteur of the working group on the EU  
neighborhood policy during a conference organized  
by the EU's Institute for Security Studies that  
examined Europe's security strategy, Natolin  
(Poland).

• Participation of Marc Hecker

November 13-14 – Limits and Borders of Israeli and  
Palestinian Space, Aix-en-Provence, France  
Seminar organized by *Cédric Parizot* and *Stéphanie  
Latte Abdallah* at the Maison méditerranéenne des  
sciences de l'homme.

## Space Program

Europe, one of the world's leading space powers, regularly combines industrial accomplishments (Ariane, telecommunications satellites, Galileo) with scientific missions and the exploration of the universe. It plays a decisive role in making space safe through the EU's Space Code of Conduct, adopted in December 2008. Analyzing the decision-making process and the wide range of stakes involved as well as establishing comparisons with other space powers (the US, Russia, Asia, etc.) are vital in studying this area of European policy.

Created in 2001, the Space program aims to monitor and analyze Europe's space policy as well as those of other major powers, disseminate studies carried out by experts on exploration, exploitation and militarization issues, and facilitate dialogue between public and private actors. Having such a program at Ifri brings needed and rare visibility on the political side of space issues, which are often only looked at from a technical angle.

### Team



*Laurence Nardon*, Head of Program, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: space policies of different countries (US, Europe, Asia, Russia), commercial and military aspects of application programs and exploration projects

*Évelyne Grenèche*, Assistant Research Fellow  
(January-May 2008)

## Research Areas

### Monitoring of the Major Space Application Programs: Launchers, Navigation, Observation, Telecommunications

The Galileo navigation program is a core research subject, and a test-case to study the EU's ability to manage a major technological program.

### Space and Security

In 2008, the program received financial support from the Ploughshares Foundation (San Francisco). The research involved following and analyzing the Space Code of Conduct project developed by the EU's member states. In 2007, *Laurence Nardon* had already participated in a discussion group on such a code at the Stimson Center in Washington.

### The Exploration of the Universe

A research project on European expectations about exploration was conducted in 2005 with the European Space Agency (ESA). This partnership continued in 2008: analysis of the future of European space policy will result in a conference organized with the ESA in Prague in June 2009.

### Space Powers

The Space program has carried out several studies on American space players. In 2008, research was centered on French actions in the framework of the French Presidency of the EU. The European Union in this way made major advances in the management of European space programs (Galileo and GMES/Copernicus).

## Electronic Publications

**The French Presidency of the Union and the Dynamics of European Space**, seminar summary, July.

**Europe's Ambitions in Space**, seminar summary, December.

**L'Europe et la guerre des étoiles**, *Laurence Nardon*, "Actuelles de l'Ifri" series, January.

## International Conference

In 2008, the Space program organized two conferences in Brussels during the French Presidency of the EU.

### July 2 – The French Presidency of the EU and the Dynamics of European Space

Main subjects addressed: French space projects – The evolution of European space governance – Technological advances and space programs. With *Serge Plattard*, CNES Representative at the Club des organismes de recherche associés (CLORA), Brussels, *Rodolphe Paris*, European Defense Agency, *Rosine Couchoud*, French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs, *Declan Kirrane*, ISC Intelligence for Science, *Kevin Madders*, Systemics Networks, *Matthias Ruete*, DG Energy and Transport, European Commission, *Didier Faivre*, Head of the Navigation Programme, ESA, *Mauro Facchini*, DG Enterprises and Industry, European Commission, *Pierre Potin*, GMES Space Office, ESA, *Richard Heidmann*, Association Planète Mars, *Leopold Summerer*, Advanced Concepts Team, ESA, *Pascal Lardin*, Director of European Affairs, Altran, *Arnab Basu*, Managing Director, Kromek, UK, *Bruno Ramos de Carvalho*, CEO, Active Space Technologies, Portugal.

### December 3 – Europe's Space Ambitions in 2009

Main subjects addressed: overview of actions concerning the space taken during the French Presidency of the EU, as well as those resulting from the ESA's ministerial conference in November 2008 – Space goals of the Czech Republic, who holds the EU presidency at the start of 2009 – Confidence and security building measures in space and European space surveillance projects.

This conference was supported by the Ploughshares Foundation.

With *Géraldine Naja-Corbin*, Head of Institutional Affairs and Strategic Studies, ESA, *Sylvia Kainz-Huber*, Head of Unit, Space Policy and Coordination, DG Enterprise and Industry, European Commission, *Mathieu Weiss*, Counsellor for space, Permanent Representation of France to the EU, *Ondrej Mirovsky*, GMES Coordinator, Czech Space Office, *Laurence Nardon*, Ifri, *Carlo Magrassi*, Deputy Chief Executive, Strategy of the European Defense Agency (EDA), *Patrice Brudieu*, Deputy Director for Strategy, CNES.

# European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

The "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program aims to inform actors involved in the public debate and public and private stakeholders of developments in global energy markets and their environmental and economic implications as well as their effects on external policy. The program is structured around five research areas that evolve in tandem with current developments:

- The evolution of gas and oil markets; improvements in the security and diversification of supply
- Global governance of the energy sector and institutions
- Integration of European energy markets with a view towards a large Euro-Asian market
- Development of a post-Kyoto framework capable of mitigating global warming
- Geopolitical implications of global developments on energy markets

## Team



*Jacques Lesourne*,  
President of the Program's  
Scientific Committee



*William C. Ramsay*,  
Director of the Program



*Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*,  
Program Coordinator, Research  
Fellow

Areas of expertise: Kyoto  
Protocol, carbon governance,

European energy policy

*Susanne Nies*, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels)  
Areas of expertise: European energy policy,  
energy infrastructure, Eastern Europe, Russia

*Cécile Kérébel*, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels)  
Areas of expertise: energy governance, oil

*Christian Schülke*, Assistant Research Fellow  
(Ifri Brussels). Areas of expertise: Poland,  
investment governance

*Jan Horst Keppler*, Associate Research Fellow,  
Professor at the University Paris-Dauphine  
Areas of expertise: energy economy, markets,  
electricity, European policy

## Research Areas

### Security of Energy Supply

Due to its low level of energy reserves and because those reserves are often located in unstable regions, security and diversification of supply are major strategic issues for Europe. The great challenge for European countries is to speak with one voice so that Europe can become a major player on the energy front

### CO<sub>2</sub> and Greenhouse Gas Emissions

The fight against climate change and the impact of greenhouse gas emissions is a priority in Europe's energy policy. Moreover, impacts on energy markets and investment decisions stemming from the full implementation of the European Trading Scheme (ETS) now need to be measured.

### Decreasing Hydrocarbon Resources

The rise in global demand for energy services dependant on hydrocarbons (notably electricity and transportation) put strong pressure on hard-to-reach reserves, whose exploitation requires increasing investment in biologically and sociopolitically fragile environments. The program studies the impact of this problem on investments, prices and the security of supply.

### Energy and Public Opinion

In order to promote a shared energy policy, it is necessary to have the sustainable and global support of the European public, and thus to understand where negative reactions to developments in the energy sector stem from.

### Technical Capabilities and the Impact of Possible Evolutions

The development of new and renewable energies (wind, solar, biomass, energy from the sea), including biofuels, is a major objective for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This area also looks at new technologies that use conventional resources (clean coal, gas, oil, nuclear fission and fusion). The impact of new energy production, transport, stockage and consumption technologies in the coming years is also studied.

## Books

**L'énergie nucléaire et les opinions publiques européennes**, *Jacques Lesourme* (ed.), "Les Études de l'Ifri" series, April.

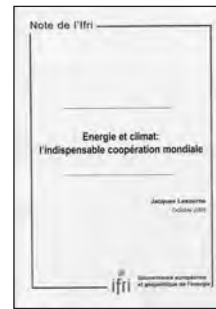
**The External Energy Policy of the European Union**, *Jacques Lesourme* (ed.), "Les Études de l'Ifri" series, August.

**Gaz et pétrole vers l'Europe**, *Suzanne Nies*, "Les Études de l'Ifri" series, August.



**The European Gas and Oil Market: the Role of Norway**, *Florentina Harbo*, October.

**Prix et taxes de l'essence et du diesel dans les pays industrialisés**, *Romain Davoust*, October.



### • Energy Editorial

These reports are published each month by a researcher with the Energy program on a current issue, and are available on Ifri's website.

**"Ownership Unbundling in Energy Markets: an Overview of a Heated Debate in Europe,"** *Suzanne Nies*, January.

**"Le paquet énergie et climat et la question du modus operandi politique européen,"** *Cécile Kérébel*, February 29.

**"Nabucco and South Stream-Overly Pipelines?,"** *Suzanne Nies*, April.

**"Organisation d'un espace énergétique européen: le rôle du couple franco-allemand,"** *Jan Horst Keppler*, April.

**"The World Environment in 2030: Some Considerations on the OECD Report,"** *Jacques Lesourme*, May.

**"Pétrole : quelques raisons d'espérer,"** *Jan Horst Keppler*, July.

**"Le conflit russo-géorgien : quel impact énergétique ?,"** *Suzanne Nies*, September.

**"Les fantômes de Djakarta,"** *William Ramsay*, November.

**"A Word to OPEP in Oran: Do No Harm,"** *William Ramsay*, December.

### Articles

**"Energy and Climate: an Undeniable Need for Global Cooperation,"** *Jacques Lesourme*, in *Politique étrangère*, *World Policy Conference*, special issue, fall.

**"Pétrole. La fin du pétrole roi ?,"** *Cécile Kérébel*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

**"Protocole de Kyoto. Repères,"** *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, in *RAMSES* 2009.

### Electronic Publications

#### • "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

**Iran : Gas Exporter?.** *Clément Therme*, March.

**Views on Europe's Domestic and Foreign Energy Policy.** *Jacques Lesourme*, March.

**Gas Price Formation, Structure & Dynamics.** *Romain Davoust*, April.

**Les filières nucléaires.** *Pierre Bacher*, April.

**Le débat sur les propositions législatives de la Commission européenne concernant l'énergie.** *Cécile Kérébel*, May.

**Le "paquet énergie et climat" du 23 janvier 2008 : un tournant pour l'Europe de l'énergie.** *Michel Cruciani*, *Jan Horst Keppler* and *Cécile Kérébel*, May.

**Franco-German Energy Relations.** *Jan Horst Keppler*, *Sophie Méritet* and *Kristina Notz*, September.

**Énergie et climat : l'indispensable coopération mondiale.** *Jacques Lesourme*, October.

**Sécurité énergétique en Méditerranée occidentale : nouveaux facteurs, nouvelles politiques. Un regard espagnol.** *Aurélia Mañé-Estrada*, October.

**The Kashagan Field: a Test Case for Kazakhstan's Governance of its Oil and Gas Sector.** *Nadia Campaner* and *Shamil Yenikeeff*, October.

## Seminars, Round Tables

### • The Ifri Energy Breakfast Round Table Series 2008

**February 27 – Oil and Gas Delivery to Europe: an Overview on Existing and Projected Infrastructures**  
With *Susanne Nies*, Ifri, *Sebastian Sass*, Permitting Manager, Nord Stream AG, *Brendan Devlin*, Officer, Energy Policy and Supply Security, European Commission.

### **April 8 – Unbundling, Regulation and Network Coordination: How the Third Liberalization Package Will Change Power Markets?**

With *Pierre Bornard*, Senior Chairman of European Transmission System Operators (TSO) Steering Committee, *Emmanuel Cabau*, General Coordinator for the Third Package, European Commission, *Matthias Dürr*, RWE Representative in Brussels.

### **April 20 – The New Oil Nationalism: Governance, Rents, and Market Power**

With *Marie-Claire Aoun*, Researcher, Center for the Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials, University of Paris-Dauphine, and *Jean-Pierre Favennec*, Director, Center for Economics and Management, French Institute of Petroleum (IFP).

### **June 13 – Energy Policy Scenarios to 2050 for Europe: the Views of Actors**

With *Jean-Eudes Moncomble*, Secretary General of the French Energy Council, and *Domenico Rossetti*, Scientific Officer, European Commission.

**November 25 – Double Whammy for Energy Financing: Energy Prices and Credit Availability**  
With *Jan Stuart*, Global Oil Economist, UBS Securities LLC, *Didier Houssin*, Director, Directorate of Energy Markets and Security, International Energy Agency (IEA), and *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri.

**December 18 – Franco-German Energy Relations**  
With *Hinrich Thoenken*, Economic Advisor at the German Embassy, *Christophe Schramm*, Renewable Energy Bureau, French Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Territorial Development, *Kristina Notz*, Project Manager of the Program “Improving Responsiveness,” Research Fellow Transatlantic Relations/Energy Policy, Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (CAP), Munich, *Jan Horst Keppler*, *Jacques Lesourne*, *William Ramsay*, Ifri.

## International Conferences

### **January 10 – Lessons From Bali: Implications for the EU-ETS, Paris**

This workshop, organized in two sessions, examined the outlook for the fight against climate change after the 13<sup>th</sup> United Nations Climate Change Conference and its potential consequences for the European Trading Scheme.

With *Brice Lalonde*, Ambassador in charge of climate change negotiations, *Vitali Matsarski*, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), *Barbara Buchner*, IEA, *Christian Egenhoffer*, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), *Roger Guesnerie*, Collège de France, *Jan Horst Keppler*, *Jacques Lesourne*, *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri, *Karsten Neuhoff*, Cambridge University, *Hélène Pelosse*, Office of the French Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Territorial Development, *Steve Rayner*, Oxford Saïd Business School, *Nicholas Stern*, London School of Economics, *Guido Sacconi*, European Parliament.

### **January 31-February 1 – The External Energy Policy of the European Union – Annual Conference of the Energy Program, Brussels**

The first annual Energy Program Conference with the participation of SG/HR Javier Solana and Andris Piebalgs, EU Commissioner for Energy. Representatives of the European Commission, national governments and experts from academia and industry debated the European Union’s external energy policy. The goal of this conference was to assess the policies already in place and to examine future outlooks.

With *Thierry de Montbrial*, *Jean Pisani-Ferry*, Director, Bruegel, *Adam Rotfeld*, former Polish Foreign Minister, *Dieter Helm*, University of Oxford, *Jorma Ollila*, Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell, *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri, *Pierre Morel*, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, *Tatsuo Masuda*, Tokyo Institute of Technology, *Valérie Niquet*, Ifri, *Robert Mabro*, Honorary President, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, *Hubert Védrine*, former French Foreign Minister, *Sadek Boussena*, University of Grenoble, *Gernot Erler*, State Minister, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Anatoly Torkunov*, Chancellor, MGIMO University, Moscow, *Claude Mandil*, former Executive Director of the IEA, *Jean-Marie Chevalier*, University of Paris-Dauphine, *Jacek Saryusz-Wolski*, Member of European Parliament, *Franklin Dehousse*, University of Liège, *Ricardo Soares de Oliveira*, University of Oxford.



*Gernot Erler, Javier Solana, Thierry de Montbrial*



*Hubert Védrine, Jacques Lesourne*



*William Ramsay, Andris Piebalgs, Thierry de Montbrial, Jacques Lesourne*



*Jean Pisani-Ferry, Dieter Helm*

**July 3 – Shell’s Energy Scenarios for 2050, Paris**  
With *Jacques Lesourne*, Ifri, *Jeremy Bentham*, Vice-President Global Business Environment, Royal Dutch Shell, *Jean Syrota*, President of the Energy Commission, French Strategic Analysis Center, *William Ramsay*, Deputy Executive Director, International Energy Agency, *Jean-Pierre Favennec*, Director, IFP, *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri, *Jean-Eudes Moncomble*, Secretary General of the French Energy Council.

**September 17 – After the G8, Industry Facing the Climate Change Challenge, Brussels**  
With *Didier Beutier*, Vice-President for Economic and Prospective Studies, AREVA, *Alice de Brauer*, VP Strategic Environmental Planning, Renault, *Koen Coppenholle*, Head of European Government Relations, Arcelor Mittal, *Marc Duhem*, Regional Manager for Europe, Solvay, *Mattias Dürr*, Head of Office, RWE AG Liaison Office Brussels, *Jan Horst Keppler*, Ifri, *Krish Krishnamurthy*, Linde AG, *Jacques Lesourne*, Ifri, *Assaad Saab*, Vice-President, International Affairs, EDF, *Arve Thorvik*, Vice-President of StatoilHydro, EU Affairs, *William Ramsay*, Deputy Director, International Energy Agency, *Yves Smeers*, Tractebel, Professor of Economics at the Catholic University of Louvain, *Wolfgang Weber*, Head of Energy and Climate Policy, BASF.



# Economic Studies Program

The “Economic Studies” program addresses economic issues from the perspective of political economy. The program thus focuses on issues concerning developments in the global economic system (its financial, commercial and industrial aspects), the governance of that system (international institutions, the G7+ and the G20), the dynamics of different regions (the US, the European Union, Russia, China and emerging countries in general), and the actions of economic stakeholders confronted with a rapidly changing environment (new technologies, outsourcing, regulation). The challenges facing the United States, the most powerful economy in the world and the birthplace of the current crisis, provide the basis for a systematic observation that will continue throughout 2009 with the new Administration in office. The European dimension is also studied, with a particular focus on Franco-German relations.

## Team



*Jacques Mistral*,  
Director of the Program,  
Professor of Economics



*Françoise Nicolas*, Senior  
Economist  
(Ifri Asia Center and Economic  
Studies Program)

## The Economic and Financial Crisis

The international financial crisis did not arrive out of nowhere. There had been many words of warning that for the most part went ignored across the Atlantic. Today the situation is quite different. The era of easy financing “à la Greenspan” is behind us. Regardless of economic developments, we are entering a difficult period: old patterns and even the idea itself of globalization have been called into question.

Decision-makers need a global framework that will allow them to understand the structural dimension of the new facts born out of the current situation. They also need operational analyses that foresee future developments in the world's major economic regions (the US, emerging countries, Europe) and take into account the uncertainties produced by the economic crisis and the growing geopolitical risks that go along with them. In terms of finance, insight into the evolution of important financial tools (rating agencies, accounting regulation, oversight of financial activities, market regulation, etc.), regulation models, and methods of governance adapted to the new environment is crucial. Heads of state began the process of reforming global governance with the G20 Summit in November 2008. Ways forward were outlined and the calendar has been set, but what will come of it all?

In 2008, Ifri developed a project that began at the start of 2009 and is expected to continue for two years. Its goal is a better understanding of the evolution of the economic and financial crisis and its implications for governance.

### Breakfast-Debates

**January 17 – Supercapitalism, the Forthcoming Conflict Between Corporations and Citizens**  
Breakfast debate with *Robert Reich*, former Labor Secretary in the Clinton Administration, Professor of public policy at the University of California at Berkeley.

**March 27 – Heroic Conservatism: What Future?**  
Breakfast debate with *Michael Gerson*, Roger Hertog Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and Editorial writer at the *Washington Post*.

### Lunch-Debate, Press Club de France

**February 19 – Is the American Economic Crisis Ahead of Us?**  
With *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

## Emerging Economies and the Future of Globalization

The most interesting aspect of globalization is by far the way in which emerging countries are able to disrupt the established international order. First known for their success in exporting manufactured goods, these countries are playing an increasing role in global economic affairs: China, India, Russia and others will be tomorrow's heavy hitters and are active on all fronts. It is then tempting to postulate a possible fundamental revision of the economic force relations that would, in turn, bring along major political changes.

These countries have considerable assets, but the challenges they face such as inequalities, social and political rights, and the environment are just as great. Faced with such deep transformations, there is a genuine need for in-depth analysis of the real strengths and weaknesses of these players in terms of economics but also in social, cultural and of course political areas.

The goal is to better understand the interaction between the emergence of new economic powers and the future of globalization. A pre-program was launched in 2008, concentrated on the three main emerging countries: China, Russia and India. Three seminars focused on the reaction of those economies to the risk of recession that threatened the US economy, and thus potentially the global economy.

## Seminars

### April 23 – Can China Be the Engine for Global Growth?

With *Richard Herd*, Head of the India/China Unit of the OECD, *Eric Izraelewicz*, Editorial Director at *La Tribune*, *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri, *François-Xavier Rouxel*, Strategy Director for Areva, *Jean-Luc Domenach*, Professor at Sciences Po, Paris, *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

### May 21 – India Amidst World Wide Economic Turbulences

With *Paul Conway*, Economist with the India/China Unit at the OECD, *Eve Charrin*, economic journalist at *Challenges*, *Jean-Joseph Boillot*, co-founder of Euro-India Economic & Business Group (EIEBG), *Gérard Binet*, Director of Development and Strategy at BNP Paribas Insurance, *Olivier Louis* and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

### June 17 – Russia, a Restored Power Due to the Surge in Raw Material Prices

With *Christian Gianella*, Chief Economist, OECD Economics Department, *Georges Sokoloff*, Professor Emeritus in Eastern languages and Advisor to the CEPIL, *Dominique Moïsi* and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

## Franco-German Economic Dialogue

Germany and France are engaged in structural reforms. However, whether it is on the matter of economic policies or of monetary union, the two countries continue to have their disagreements. Fundamentally, what are the French and German positions on the economic challenges that the European Union faces? True Franco-German dialogue is needed today to eliminate superficial differences and identify core convergences. In order to start the debate, macroeconomic governance and supply policies will be analyzed. The quality of Franco-German relations remains an essential element of the construction of Europe, the functioning of its institutions and the success of its economy.

In a climate fraught with tension and instability, it is now more than ever necessary to strengthen Franco-German dialogue, notably on economic matters. Cooperation between Ifri and the Deutsch-Französisches Institut (DFI) of Ludwigsburg led, in 2008, to a round table in Paris and presentations in Ludwigsburg and Frankfurt. In 2009, a joint publication of a book on “the

renewal of socioeconomic models in Europe” is planned, as well as the launch of a series of round tables that will provide the occasion for dialogue (joint responses to the financial crisis, evolution of competition and industrial strategies, reforms of social models, etc.) in Paris and Berlin.

### Seminars

#### July 2 – Views on Economic Europe in Germany and in France

With *Jean Pisani-Ferry*, Director of the Bruegel Institute (Brussels), *Andreas Schwab*, Member of European Parliament, *Henrik Uterwedde*, Assistant Director of DFI, *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri, *Hans Stark*, Cerfa/Ifri.

### Telecommunications Program: “Innovation, Competition and Regulation”

(see also the *Transatlantic program*)

### Seminars

#### October 1<sup>st</sup> – The Future of Electronic Communication

With *David Flacher*, Professor of economics at University of Paris XIII, *Nicolas Curien*, Member of the Autorité de régulation des communications électroniques et des postes (ARCEP), *Catherine Lejealle*, sociologist, Professor and Researcher at Télécoms ParisTech, *Sébastien Magnaval*, Program Director, Opticsvalley, *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

### Conference-Debate

#### April 30 – US Perspectives on Sustainable Development

With *Stephen L. Johnson*, Administrator at the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

### Publications

“*Économie mondiale. Ajustement cyclique ou crise sévère ?*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *RAMSES 2009* (introduction to the “Global Economy” section).

### Outside Publications

*La Troisième Révolution américaine*, *Jacques Mistral*, Paris, Perrin. Economy Book Award 2008.



“*La fuite en avant dans l’endettement*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Revue du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle*, January-March.

“*De l’internationalisation à la globalisation : quel succès, quels défis ?*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Constructif*, February.

“*Économie, monnaie, finances : l’heure de la cohérence*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Société*, April.

“*Un partenariat économique transatlantique adapté à l’ère de la globalisation*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Les États-Unis et le monde d’aujourd’hui*, La Tour d’Aigues, Éditions de l’Aube.

“*Supprimer la phase descendante du cycle peut gravement nuire à votre croissance à long terme*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Patrick Arthus* (ed.), *La Crise financière : causes, effets et réformes nécessaires*, collection “Les Cahiers du Cercle des économistes,” Paris, PUF/Descartes et Cie.

“*En Amérique, un retour de l’État par le socialisme*,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Catherine Lubochinski* (ed.), *Les Marchés financiers dans la tourmente. Le défi du long terme*, Paris, PUF.

# Migrations, Identities and Citizenship Program

The debate over immigration and citizenship is crucial for the future of European societies. The “Migrations, Identities and Citizenship” program carries out groundbreaking research on major issues surrounding migrations and their political, social, economic and cultural consequences. This research is enriched by meetings that regularly bring together practitioners of immigration policies and different actors affected by those issues to analyze topics ranging from the management of immigration flows to cultural and religious identities. Research and debates are strengthened by outside scientific and online publications. The program is an integral part of the European and international network of top experts in migration, citizenship and cultural and religious minorities.

### Team



*Christophe Bertossi*,  
Head of the Program, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: citizenship, discrimination, ethnicity, European immigration policies



*Dorothee Prud'homme*,  
Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: discrimination and minorities in Europe

### Research Areas

The program is focused on four areas of research and debate and systematically uses a comparative approach.

#### New Immigration Policies in Europe

After 30 years of keeping borders closed to labor immigration, European countries have started implementing new immigration policies: selective opening of borders, organization of legal immigration, the fight against illegal immigration –a “global” approach that emphasizes partnerships between departure, transit and destination countries. While those objectives may be shared, member states are still having a hard time implementing a common immigration policy. Why is this so? In 2008, in the context of the French Presidency of the EU, Ifri organized an “Anglo-French Policy Dialogue on Regularization and Co-Development,” in partnership with

the British foundation Barrow Cadbury Trust, the conclusions of which were presented in a report titled *How Can Europeans Agree on a Common Immigration Policy?*

### The “Crisis” of European Integration Models

Integration policies have for a long time been defined after the major national models: French republicanism, Dutch multiculturalism, British race relations, etc. Regardless of the deep differences among those models, all “old immigration countries” in Europe seem to be facing a similar crisis: integration debates question the effectiveness of “traditional models.” Is this an “integration crisis”? How can we interpret the discourse surrounding this “crisis”? In 2008 we led a comparative study between France and the Netherlands in partnership with the Maison Descartes, the Amsterdam School of Social Science Research (ASSR) and the University of Twente in the Netherlands, with the support of the Agence nationale pour la cohésion sociale et l'égalité (ACSE). Two new studies extending this comparison to the European Union were also launched in partnership with Washington University in Saint Louis and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon).

### Institutional Discrimination

Public institutions (armed forces, schools, hospitals, etc.) are traditional integration factories, but do not escape racial, ethnic and religious discrimination. In this context, how can they still create a sense of “common belonging”? Is this best done through fighting discrimination or through affirmative action policies? Does “institutional” discrimination exist? How can these issues be addressed? Following the research published in 2007 on the French Armed Forces, the program conducted a 14-month study titled “Social Mobility and Cultural Diversity in the French Gendarmerie: the Issue of Identity.”

### Migrations and Development

The idea of linking international migration regulation to the development of the countries of origin is not new, but became more salient at the beginning of the 2000s as an important dimension of migratory policies, particularly in the EU. To what extent can migrants be considered actors in the development game? How can remittances as well as the transfer of social and human capital contribute to the development of the migrants' origin countries? This question was the focus of several debates at Ifri in 2008, notably during a seminar with the Barrow Cadbury Trust in November.

## Electronic Publications

### • “Notes de l'Ifri” Series

**Push and Pull Factors Towards and Against a Common European Migration Policy**, Sarah Toucas, December.

**Co-Development Policies in Europe: Objectives, Experiences and Limits**, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, December.



### • Working Papers

**La politique d’“immigration choisie” est-elle possible ?**, Christophe Bertossi, Patrick Stefanini and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, February.

### Articles

**“The Regulation of Migrations: a Global Challenge,”** Christophe Bertossi, in *Politique étrangère*, World Policy Conference special issue, fall.

**“Union européenne. Une politique migratoire commune est-elle possible ?,”** Christophe Bertossi, in *RAMSES* 2009.

### Outside Publications

**“France: the State Strives to Shape 'Chosen' Immigration,”** Christophe Bertossi, for the *Politiche Migratorie e Modelli di Società* project at CeSPI, Roma.

**“L'ethnicité dans les armées françaises,”** Christophe Bertossi, in *Hommes et migrations*, n° 1276 (special issue *Soldats de France*), November-December.

**“La diversité dans les armées françaises,”** Christophe Bertossi, in *À chacun ses étrangers ? En France et en Allemagne de 1871 à nos jours*, Arles, Actes Sud/Cité nationale d'histoire de l'immigration, December 2008.

### Seminars

**April 14 – Is a “Chosen Immigration” Policy also a Policy of Integration?**

With Maxime Tandonnet, Advisor on Immigration and Integration, Cabinet of the President of the Republic of France, Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

**May 14 – Understanding French Integration Politics after November 2005**

In partnership with the Lund University and the Swedish Embassy in France.

With Christophe Bertossi, Ifri, Catarina Kinvall, Lund University.

**May 20 – Diagnosis and Solutions for the Crisis of Integration Models in France and the Netherlands**, Maison Descartes (Amsterdam)

In partnership with the Maison Descartes.

With John Bowen, Dunbar-Van Cleve Professor in Arts

and Sciences, Sociocultural Anthropology, Washington University in Saint Louis, Jan Willem Duyvendak, Director of the Verwey-Jonker Institute in Utrecht, Professor at ASSR, Amsterdam, Marcel Maussen, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), Amsterdam, and Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

**May 21 – Beyond Integration Models: France, the Netherlands and the Crisis of National Models**, Enschede, the Netherlands

In partnership with the Maison Descartes (Amsterdam) and the University of Twente.

With John Bowen, Dunbar-Van Cleve Professor in Arts and Sciences, Sociocultural Anthropology, Washington University in Saint Louis, Franck de Zwart, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, Leiden University, Jan Willem Duyvendak, Director of the Verwey-Jonker Institute in Utrecht, Professor at ASSR, Amsterdam, Nacira Guénif-Soulimas, Professor at the University of Paris XIII, Marcel Maussen, IMES, Amsterdam, Sawitri Saharso, Professor in Intercultural Governance, Faculty of Management and Governance, University of Twente, Peter A. W. Scholten, Assistant Professor, Sociology of Governance, University of Twente, Jocelyne Streiff-Fénart, Research Director at CNRS, Director of the Migrations and Society Research Unit (URMIS), Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

**June 12 – The Transfer of Migrants: Links Between Migration Policies and the Development of Origin Countries**

With Jean-Pierre Garson, Head of the Non-Member Economies and International Migration Division, OECD, Guillaume Almeras, Consultant, Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

**October 23 – Second Seminar of the “Beyond Integration Models: France, the Netherlands and the Crisis of National Models” Project.**

**October 29 – What Is the Cost of the Non-Regularization of Undocumented Migrants?**

First meeting of the “Anglo-French Policy Dialogue on Regularization and Co-Development,” in partnership with the Barrow Cadbury Trust. With Jean-Pierre Garson, Head of the Non-Member Economies and International Migration Division, OECD, Jean-Christophe Peaucelle, Director of European Affairs, French Ministry for Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Mutually-supportive Development, Don Flynn, Director of the Migrants Rights Network, London, Sean Bamford, European Union and International Relations Department, Trades Union Congress (TUC), Yannick Blanc, former Director of the General Police, Paris Police Department, Patrick Peugeot, President of CIMADE, Sonia McKay, London Metropolitan University, Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

**November 25 – Principles and Objectives of Co-Development**

Second meeting of the “Anglo-French Policy Dialogue on Regularization and Co-Development,” in partnership with the Barrow Cadbury Trust. With Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, CERI, Paris, Peter Gordon, Department of International Development (DFID), London, José Manuel Albares, Director of Cooperation and Development, Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chansamone Voravong, President of FORIM, Paris, Susanna Mitchell, New Economics Foundation, London, Henry Marty-Gauquié, Director of the European Investment Bank in Paris, Sylvie Aboa-Bradwell, Centre for Democracy and Development, London, Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

# Health and Environment: From Safety and Security Issues to New Governance Options ?

The “Health and Environment” program aims to study the new junctions that exist between global health and environmental issues and the challenges of security, in order to understand their impact on the effectiveness of proposed solutions and global governance structures. It also encourages debate within civil society and seeks to come up with new approaches and outlooks by working with networks of affected partners.

Classifying environmental and health issues as security concerns belonging into the securitization process, makes those issues into a top priority for international actors and justifies allocating additional resources and calling for adequate governance tools. The program's objective is thus to study the effects of securitizing environmental and health issues in terms of new governance systems and tools, as well as examining the efficiency of specific actions, through empirical research and the comparative study of crisis cases. The program also aims to produce new scenarios and directions for research by bringing together experts from many disciplines within one single project.

## Team



*Aline Lebæuf,*  
Head of the Program,  
Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: evolution of global health governance, stabilization and reconstruction issues in Sub-Saharan Africa



*Emma Broughton,*  
Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: the expansion of the notion of security to the health and

environment sectors, environmental security in China

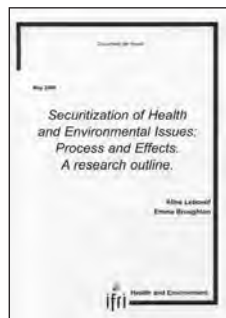
## Research Areas

2008 was dedicated to studying international cooperation. 2009 will focus on the creation and the use of international norms as governance tools. Lastly, 2010 will examine crisis management tools, in particular those that are developed by networks of non-state actors.

## Electronic Publications

“Local Momentum for Global Governance: the Management of Transboundary Pollution. The Baia Mare Cyanide Spill, Romania 2000,” *Marion Marmorat*, in *Health and Environment Reports*, n° 1, November.

**Securitization of Health and Environmental Issues: Process and Effects. A Research Outline**, *Aline Lebæuf* and *Emma Broughton*, *Working Paper*, May.



## Seminars

Two discussion workshops contributing to the peer-review of the first two studies took place:

**September 16 – Cross-border Pollution**  
With *Marion Marmorat*.

Main participant: *Bernard Barraqué*, AgroParisTech, ENGREF.

**November 25 – The Global Fight Against Avian Influenza. Lessons for the Management of Health and Environmental Crises**

With *Aline Lebæuf*, Ifri.

## Conference

**September 25 – Impacting Health and the Environment, the Challenges of Taking a Security Approach**, Brussels

Main subjects addressed: the securitization process in a historical perspective – Health and environment as security issues – Securitization and efficiency: is there a link? – The effects of securitization on governance options.

With Ambassador *Michel Lu Ching-Long*, Representative of the Taipei Representative Office in France, *Stefan Elbe*, Reader, University of Sussex, *Hans Günter Brauch*, Adjunct Professor, Freie Universität, Berlin, *Barry Buzan*, Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science, *Aline Lebæuf*, Ifri, *Lincoln Chen*, President, China Medical Board of New York, *Gwyn Prins*, Director, Mackinder Programme, London School of Economics and Political Science, *Colin McInnes*, Director, Centre for Health and International Relations (CHAIR), Aberystwyth University (United Kingdom), *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, Ifri, *Fanny Chabrol*, EHESS, *Jean Jouzel*, Institut Pierre-Simon Laplace, *Tu Wenling*, Secretary General, Taiwan Environmental Action Network, *Emma Broughton*, Ifri, *Harley Feldbaum*, Associate Director, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, *Adil Najam*, Professor, University of Boston, *Patrick Allard*, CAP, French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs, *Cécile Kérébel*, Ifri, *Sylvie Lemmet*, Director of the Division of Technology, Industry and Economics, United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), France.

# Sport and International Relations Program

Created in October 2007 in partnership with the Institut Alain-Danet, the “Sport and International Relations” research and debate program aims to monitor and study recent developments in sport as an important factor in international relations. Over a three-year period, it seeks to understand new issues surrounding international sport, its main trends, geopolitical impacts, institutions and their influence areas, and emerging actors and their power struggles. These numerous elements have today made of sport a tool of international bi- and multilateral relations, and a human activity that is no longer only an extension of a state’s foreign policy.

## Team



*Valérie Amant,*  
Head of the Program  
Areas of expertise: International communication strategies in sport

## Research Areas

Understanding national sport strategies and the clout of actors from international sport governance is an increasingly important element in international relations. Who are the main players in this new game and how do they compete for power? How do these developments become apparent and what are their present and future implications on the international economic, political and social scene? How do states use sport as a diplomatic lever? Using these questions as a guide, the “Sport and International Relations” program focuses on the following research areas:

- The sport strategies of states: from international influence to sport diplomacy
- The Olympic movement and globalization
- Globalization and major sport events: political and diplomatic stakes (2010 World Cup, Olympic Games in London in 2012 and Sochi in 2014; Olympic candidate states for 2016 and 2018)
- Sport’s economic stakes and development dynamics
- Sport as a domestic element of governance: comparative public policies of the various European models, European sport policy
- New challenges for international sport in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

A volume presenting an overview of the program’s research will be released in the first half of 2009.

## Publications

“Coupe du monde de football 2010 : de trop grandes espérances ?,” *Valérie Amant,* in *RAMSES 2009.*

## Seminars

**June 23 – The Future of Soccer in Europe, Brussels**  
Main subjects addressed: recent attempts at professional soccer regulation and their impact on European construction and European identity. With *Richard Corbett*, Member of the European Parliament, *Pedro Velazquez-Hernandez*, Deputy Head of the Sport Unit of the DG for Education and Culture, European Commission, *Jonathan Hill*, Head of European Affairs, UEFA, *Ferdinando Riccardi*, Editorial writer, Agence Europe.

**July 3 – The Olympic Games: New Players, New Powers?**  
Main themes addressed: The IOC: amidst sport’s diplomatic, cultural and economic stakes, the omnipotence of an international movement – Beijing 2008: a breakthrough in Chinese history? – Sochi 2014: symbol of the advent of the new Russia? With *Jean-Loup Chappelet*, Director and Founder of the Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration in Lausanne, *Valérie Niquet*, *Didier Chaudet* and *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri.

**September 9 – Mega Sport Events: in Pursuit of International Recognition?**  
Major subjects addressed: from Berlin 1936 to Beijing 2008: Olympic Games as a way to champion a political model – South Africa and the Football World Cup in 2010 – Sports in the microstates of the Arabian Peninsula: in pursuit of international recognition. With *Frédéric Champagne*, Director of International Relations at FIFA, *Patrick Clastres*, sport historian, *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri.

# Publications

## Books

### “Les Études de l’Ifri”

Collection published by the Documentation française

**Radioscopie de l’Allemagne 2008**, *Claire Demesmay and Hans Stark* (ed.), Paris, Ifri.

**Russie.Nei.Visions 2008. Understanding Russia and the New Independent States**, *Thomas Gomart and Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean* (ed.), Paris, Ifri.

**L’Énergie nucléaire et les opinions publiques européennes**, *Jacques Lesourne* (ed.) Paris, Ifri.

**The External Energy Policy of the European Union**, *Jacques Lesourne* (ed.) Paris, Ifri.

**Gaz et pétrole vers l’Europe : perspectives pour les infrastructures**, *Susanne Nies*, Paris, Ifri.

## Outside Books

**Vingt ans qui bouleversèrent le monde. De Berlin à Pékin**, *Thierry de Montbrial*, Paris, Dunod.

**L’Action et le système du monde**, *Thierry de Montbrial* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), Paris, PUF.

**La Troisième Révolution américaine**, *Jacques Mistral*, Paris, Perrin.

**La Géopolitique de l’émotion**, *Dominique Moïsi*, Paris, Flammarion.

**Russian Civil-Military Relations: Putin’s Legacy**, *Thomas Gomart*, Washington, Carnegie Endowment.

**L’Image de la femme au Maghreb**, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), Arles, Actes Sud.

## Electronic publications and articles

### Europe

#### • Cerfa Publications

##### “Notes du Cerfa” Series

**La politique proche-orientale de la grande coalition**, *Isabel Schäfer*, n° 51, January.

**Le débat sur la Fraction armée rouge. Perception et mémoire du terrorisme d’extrême gauche en Allemagne**, *Annette Vowinckel*, n° 52, February.

**L’Allemagne et l’OTAN**, *Henning Riecke*, n° 53, March.

**Les réformes Hartz des politiques de l’emploi : instrument ou reflet de la normalisation du marché du travail**, *Olivier Giraud and Arnaud Lechevalier*, n° 54, April.

**Diversité et intégration : le débat politique outre-Rhin**, *Mechtild Baumann and Vanessa Müller*, n° 55, June.

**La situation économique et sociale en Allemagne un an avant les élections : bilan et perspectives**, *Michèle Weinachter*, n° 56, October.

**Le “modèle allemand” à l’exportation : pourquoi l’Allemagne exporte-t-elle tant ?**, *Hans Brodersen*, n° 57, November.

**La politique climatique de la grande coalition : rétrospective et perspectives**, *Camilla Bausch and Benjamin Görlach*, n° 58, December.

##### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

**Les relations franco-allemandes dans le secteur de l’énergie**, *Jan Horst Keppler, Sophie Méritet and Kristina Notz*, September.

##### “Visions franco-allemandes” Series

**Les aides publiques au développement en France et en Allemagne : perspectives comparées**, *Alexander von Kap-Herr and Jennifer Moreau*, n° 13, September.

## Articles

**“L’Allemagne face à l’Europe de Nicolas Sarkozy”**, *Claire Demesmay*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2/2008.

**“Die französische Ratspräsidentschaft 2008 – Zwischen aktuellem Krisenmanagement und strategischer Weichenstellung”**, *Hans Stark*, in *Integration*, n° 3/2008.

### “Helmut Kohl and the Maastricht Process,”

*Hans Stark*, in *Frédéric Bozo, Leopold Nutt and Marie-Pierre Rey* (ed.), *Europe and the End of the Cold War: a Reappraisal*, London, Routledge.

**“Entre centralisme national et approfondissement européen : les aléas du fédéralisme allemand,”** *Hans Stark*, in *Hélène Miard-Delacroix* (ed.), *Espaces de pouvoir, espaces d’autonomie en Allemagne*, Lyon, ENS Éditions.

**“Wortkrieg um das europäische Selbstverständnis: eine Vergleichsanalyse der Türkei-Debatte in Deutschland und Frankreich,”** *Claire Demesmay*, in *Frank Baasner* (ed.), *Von welchem Europa reden wir? Reichweiten nationaler Europadiskurse*, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

**“Le voisinage de l’Union européenne : sphère de sécurité, réseau de connexions ou mariage de convenances ?,”** *Esther Brimmer*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

**“La politique européenne de voisinage. Perspectives internes et externes,”** *Barbara Lippert*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

**“L’Union pour la Méditerranée : un défi européen,”** *Denis Bauchard*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

#### • Ifri Brussels Publications

##### “Europe.Visions” Series

**La France et l’Union européenne**, *Maxime Lefebvre*, n° 1, June.

**Le cinquième élargissement de l’UE, cinq ans après : le cas de la Pologne et de la République tchèque**, *Piotr Maciej Kaczynski*, n° 2, November.

##### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

**Le débat sur les propositions législatives de la Commission européenne concernant l’énergie**, *Cécile Kérébel*, May.

**Le “paquet énergie et climat” du 23 janvier 2008 : un tournant pour l’Europe de l’énergie**, *Cécile Kérébel, Michel Cruciani and Jan Horst Keppler*, May.

##### Other Online Publications

**State of Negotiations on the Climate and Energy Package**, *Cécile Kérébel*, first released in September 2008, updated monthly.

## Articles and Contributions

“Le partenariat multi-acteurs : une innovation institutionnelle pour le développement durable ?,” *Cécile Kérébel*, in *Marie-Claude Smouts* (ed.), *Le Développement durable : les termes du débat*, Paris, Armand Colin.

“Quelle gouvernance du marché du pétrole aujourd’hui ? Mécanismes, systèmes d’acteurs et rapports de force en évolution,” *Cécile Kérébel*, in *Laetitia Spetschinsky and Tanguy Struye* (ed.), *La Gouvernance de l’énergie en Europe et dans le monde*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Louvain University Press.

“Lettland zwischen Nationalismus und Pragmatismus. Die lettische nationale Bewegung und der lettische Nationalismus 1986-1996,” *Susanne Nies*, in *Egbert Jahn* (ed.), *Nationalismus im spät- und postkommunistischen Europa* (3 volumes), Baden-Baden, Nomos.

“What Does France Expect From the Next US Administration?,” *Susanne Nies*, EPIN/DGAP, December.

---

## Russie/NIS

### “Russie.Nei.Visions” Series

Electronic collection published in English, French and Russian

L’UE : aiguillon des stratégies de Gazprom ?, *Catherine Locatelli*, n° 26, February.

L’Arménie, avant-poste de la Russie au Caucase ?, *Gaidz Minassian*, n° 27, February.

Enseignement supérieur, clé de la compétitivité russe, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 28, April.

Enseignement supérieur en Russie : comment dépasser l’héritage soviétique ?, *Boris Saltykov*, n° 29, April.

Impact du “nouveau management public” sur l’enseignement supérieur russe, *Carole Sigman*, n° 30, April.

Caspian Pipeline Consortium, baromètre du climat d’investissement en Russie ?, *Adrian Dellecker*, n° 31, May.

Différencier la politique européenne de voisinage : quelles implications pour l’Ukraine ?, *Kerry Longhurst*, n° 32, July.

Coopération universitaire russo-américaine. Quel nouveau modèle après l’aide technique ?, *Andrei Kortounov*, n° 33, August.

L’OCS : poste d’observation sino-russe, *Stephen Aris*, n° 34, September.

Terrorisme islamiste en Grande Asie centrale : “Al-Qaïdisation” du djihadisme ouzbek, *Didier Chaudet*, n° 35, December.

## Articles

“La menace djihadiste en Grande Asie centrale,” *Didier Chaudet*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2008.

“Russia Alone Forever? The Kremlin’s Strategic Solitude,” *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique étrangère*, *World Policy Conference special issue*, fall.

“Kremlin Inc.: Gaming the Energy Landscape,” *Adrian Dellecker*, Policy Paper (English version of an article that appeared in French in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2007, under the title: “Kremlin Inc.: le système juridique au service de l’industrie énergétique”), January.

“L’Europe marginalisée,” *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique internationale*, n° 118, winter.

---

## Asia

### “Asie.Visions” Series

Electronic collection of the Ifri Asia Center

L’Europe et la Chine : une coopération aux dimensions juridiques complexes, *Antoine Sautenet*, n° 3, March.

China and Foreign Investors. The End of a Beautiful Friendship?, *Françoise Nicolas*, n° 4, April.

How Far Has Indian Industry Travelled Down the Deregulatory Road?, *Dilip Subramanian*, n° 5, June.

The Chaotic History of Foreign Companies in India, *Nathalie Belhoste and Jérémy Grasset*, n° 6, July.

Du tremblement de terre du Sichuan aux Jeux olympiques : la Chine face aux défis politiques de l’année 2008, *Valérie Niquet*, n° 8, August.

L’aide publique au développement japonaise et l’Afrique : vers un partenariat fructueux ?, *Julien Kita*, n° 10, September.

India’s International Trade Policy, *Laurence Henry*, n° 10, September.

Le retour des “cerveaux” en Chine : quel impact socioéconomique ?, *Wei Shen and Hélène Le Bail*, n° 11, October.

Also see *La Lettre du Centre Asie*, available at [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)

### Working Papers

La culture stratégique et la normalisation militaire du Japon, *Céline Pajon*, February.

La sécurité collective en Asie, *Loïc Frouart*, February.

Culture stratégique et politique de défense en Chine, *Valérie Niquet*, February.

Péninsule coréenne : une nation, deux entités stratégiques, *Marianne Péron-Doise*, February.

La stratégie australienne en Asie-Pacifique, *Céline Pajon*, May.

In the Mood for Multilateralism? China’s Evolving Global View, *Shen Wei*, July.

## Articles and Contributions

“La Chine face au défi des Jeux olympiques,” *Valérie Niquet*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2/2008.

“Les débats sur la croissance chinoise,” *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2/2008.

“Le régime chinois face aux inégalités,” *Hélène Le Bail*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2/2008.

“Le retour de l’idée nationale au Japon : tourner la page de l’après-guerre,” *Céline Pajon*, in *Politique étrangère* 2/2008.

“L’accord nucléaire indo-américain : enjeux et polémiques,” *Raphaël Gutmann*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2008.

“La nouvelle immigration chinoise au Japon entre ascension sociale et représentations criminalisantes,” *Hélène Le Bail*, in *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, vol. 24, n° 3.

“What Scope for an EU-ASEAN FTA?,” *Françoise Nicolas* (with *Bernadette Andreosso-O’Callaghan*), in *Journal of World Trade*, vol. 42, n° 1, February.

“EU-ASEAN: Prospects for a Free Trade Agreement,” *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Bernadette Andreosso-O’Callaghan and M. Bruna Zolin* (ed.), *Asia and Europe: Contrasts and Connections*, Venice, Foscarini Editrice.

“Negotiating a Korea-EU Free Trade Agreement: Easier Said Than Done,” *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 6, n° 4.

---

## Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

### • Middle East

#### “Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Méditerranée” Series

La Syrie au carrefour des risques, *Denis Bauchard*, May.

Du Liban au Pakistan : un arc de crise hors contrôle ?, *Denis Bauchard*, December.

### Article

“From Lebanon to Pakistan: a Crescent of Crisis Out of Control?,” *Denis Bauchard*, in *Politique étrangère*, *World Policy Conference special issue*, fall.

### • North Africa

#### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

Trente ans de conflit au Sahara occidental, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, January.

L’évolution du statut de la femme dans les pays du Maghreb, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, June.

Les défis de l’avenir, le capital humain et l’Union pour la Méditerranée, *Chekib Nouira*, June.

Les défis sécuritaires au Maghreb, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, June.

L'Union pour la Méditerranée : avatar d'une communauté méditerranéenne, *Ahmed Ounaïes*, July.

La politisation des jeunes dans les camps de réfugiés sahraouis, *Cédric Omet*, July.

Sécurité énergétique en Méditerranée occidentale : nouveaux facteurs, nouvelles politiques. Un regard espagnol, *Aurélia Mañé-Estrada*, October.

Être jeune au Sahara occidental aujourd'hui, *Omar Brouksy*, November.

#### "Europe.Visions" Series

Le projet d'Union pour la Méditerranée ou une ambition française de reconsidérer le Sud, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, December.

#### Articles and Contributions

"Méditerranée et nouveau Moyen-Orient : quelles constructions stratégiques ?," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Quaterns de la Mediterrania*, IEMed, Barcelone, June.

"Climats d'incertitudes au Maghreb," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, on the website of *Casa Arabe*, Madrid, July.

"Le sens des élections au Maghreb," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Annuaire de la Méditerranée*, IEMed, Barcelona, October.

#### • Contemporary Turkey

#### Articles and Contributions

"La Turquie et l'Union pour la Méditerranée : un partenariat calculé," *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

Turquie : le discours de la crise, *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Repères sur la Turquie*, n° 1, September.

La diplomatie turque : une émancipation internationale sous quelles conditions ?, *Özgün Özçer*, in *Repères sur la Turquie*, n° 2, December.

"L'Union pour la Méditerranée : un nouveau moteur français pour les politiques européennes en Méditerranée ?," *Dorothee Schmid*, in *DGAP-analyse-Frankreich*, n° 1, January.

"Union for the Mediterranean, Disunity for the EU?," *Dorothee Schmid (with Rosa Balfour)*, in *Policy Brief*, European Policy Center, February.

#### • Iran

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

L'Iran, exportateur de gaz ?, *Clément Therme*, March.

#### "Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Méditerranée" Series

Le chrysanthème et la rose : les relations nippo-iraniennes contemporaines, *Thierry Kellner*, January.

#### Articles and Contributions

"Le flanc est de l'Iran : opportunités et vulnérabilités," *Clément Therme* and

*Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2008.

"L'alliance irano-arménienne," *Clément Therme*, in *Journal of International and Strategic Studies*, April.

"L'Iran en Amérique latine, la République islamique dans le pré carré des États-Unis," *Clément Therme* and *Mohammad-Reza Djalili*, in *Maghreb-Machrek*, November.

#### • Africa

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Les dynamiques paradoxales du pentecôtisme en Afrique subsaharienne, *Cédric Mayrargue*, April.

Les accords de partenariat économique : un chemin critique vers l'intégration régionale et la libéralisation des échanges, *Jean-François Sempéré*, November.

---

### The United States and Transatlantic Relations

#### Joint CSIS and Ifri Publications

U.S.-Russia Relations, Facing Reality Pragmatically, *Thomas Graham*, July.

EU-Russia Relations, Toward a Way out of Depression, *Thomas Gomart*, July.

U.S.-Russia Strategic Partnership Against Nuclear Proliferation, *Pierre Goldschmidt*, July.

Toward a New Euro-Atlantic "Hard" Security Agenda: Prospects for Trilateral U.S.-EU-Russia Cooperation, *Dmitri Trenin*, August.

Russia and the West : the Energy Factor, *Vladimir Milov*, September.

Russia's 2020 Strategic Economic Goals and the Role of International Integration, *Andrew C. Kuchins*, *Amy Beavin* and *Anna Bryndza*, September.

The NATO-Russia Relationship: Defining Moment or Déjà Vu ?, *Julianne Smith*, November.

---

### Security

#### "Proliferation Papers" Series

Electronic collection of the Center for Security Studies published in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), available in English

Iran's "Risk-Taking" in Perspective, *Sharam Chubin*, n° 21, winter.

Principles for Reforming the Nuclear Order, *George Perkovich*, n° 22, fall.

President-elect Obama and Nuclear Disarmament. Between Restraint and Elimination, *William Walker*, n° 23, winter.

#### "Focus stratégique" Series

Collection of the Center for Security Studies  
Stabiliser autrement ? Les équipes provinciales de reconstruction (PRT) en Afghanistan, *Paul Haéri* and *Laurent Fromaget*, n° 4, January.

Birthing Athena – The Uncertain Future of European Security and Defense Policy, *Christopher S. Chivvis*, n° 5, March.

Du bon usage de la terreur, *Marc Hecker*, n° 6, April.

L'aide au développement face à la guerre, *Jean-Bernard Véron*, n° 7, May.

La notion de partage capacitaire en question, *Philippe Coquet*, n° 8, June.

Candide au Congo – L'échec annoncé de la réforme du secteur de sécurité (RSS), *Sébastien Melmot*, n° 9, September.

La surprise stratégique – De la notion aux implications, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 10, October.

Transforming for What? Challenges Facing Western Militaries Today, *John Gordon*, n° 11, November.

La tentation internationale d'Al-Qaïda au Maghreb, *Mathieu Guidère*, n° 12, December.

#### Articles

"Législatives en Pologne : quel changement ?," *Kerry Longhurst*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2008.

"Guerre du Vietnam" and "Guerre de Corée," *Corentin Brustlein*, in *Alain Renaut* (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la culture politique contemporaine*, Paris, Hermann.

"Oussama Ben Laden," "11 septembre 2001" and "Ariel Sharon," *Marc Hecker*, in *Alain Renaut* (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la culture politique contemporaine*, Paris, Hermann.

"Les trois âges du terrorisme," *Marc Hecker*, in *Commentaire*, n° 121, spring.

"Les Provincial Reconstruction Teams en Afghanistan," *Laurent Fromaget*, in *Les cahiers du CESAT*, September.

"Polish Foreign and Security Policy After the Parliamentary Elections," *Kerry Longhurst*, in *The European Courier*, 12 January.

"Polish Atlanticism on the Move," *Kerry Longhurst*, in *American Foreign Policy Interest*, vol. 30, n° 3, May-June.

---

### Energy

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

L'Iran, exportateur de gaz ?, *Clément Therme*, March.

Views on Europe's Domestic and Foreign Energy Policy, *Jacques Lesoume*, March.

Gas Price Formation, Structure & Dynamics, *Romain Davoust*, April.

Les filières nucléaires, *Pierre Bacher*, April.

Le débat sur les propositions législatives de la Commission européenne concernant l'énergie, *Cécile Kérébel*, May.



Le “paquet énergie et climat” du 23 janvier 2008 : un tournant pour l’Europe de l’énergie, *Michel Cruciani, Jan Horst Keppler and Cécile Kérébel*, May.

Franco-German Energy Relations, *Jan Horst Keppler, Sophie Méritet and Kristina Notz*, September.

Énergie et climat : l’indispensable coopération mondiale, *Jacques Lesourme*, October.

Sécurité énergétique en Méditerranée occidentale : nouveaux facteurs, nouvelles politiques. Un regard espagnol, *Aurélia Mañé-Estrada*, October.

The Kashagan Field: a Test Case for Kazakhstan’s Governance of its Oil and Gas Sector, *Nadia Campaner and Shamil Yenikeeff*, October.

The European Gas and Oil Market: the Role of Norway, *Florentina Harbo*, October.

Prix et taxe de l’essence et du diesel dans les pays industrialisés, *Romain Davoust*, October.

#### Articles

“Energy and Climate: an Undeniable Need for Global Cooperation,” *Jacques Lesourme*, in *Politique étrangère, World Policy Conference* special issue, fall.

Also see the *Energy program’s editorials* at [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)

---

#### Economy

##### Articles and Contributions

“La fuite en avant dans l’endettement,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Revue du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle*, January-March.

“De l’internationalisation à la globalisation : quel succès, quels défis ?,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Constructif*, February.

“Économie, monnaie, finances : l’heure de la cohérence,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Sociétal*, April.

“Un partenariat économique transatlantique adapté à l’ère de la globalisation,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Les États-Unis et le monde d’aujourd’hui*, La Tour d’Aigues, Éditions de l’Aube.

“Supprimer la phase descendante du cycle peut gravement nuire à votre croissance à long terme,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Patrick Arthus* (ed.), *La Crise financière : causes, effets et réformes nécessaires*, Paris, PUF/Descartes et Cie, collection “Les Cahiers du Cercle des économistes.”

“En Amérique, un retour de l’État par le socialisme,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Catherine Lubochinski* (ed.), *Les Marchés financiers dans la tourmente. Le défi du long terme*, Paris, PUF.

---

#### Migrations and Citizenship in Europe

##### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

Push and Pull Factors Towards and Against a Common European Migration Policy, *Sarah Toucas*, December.

Co-Development Policies in Europe: Objectives, Experiences, and Limits, *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, December.

##### Working Paper

La politique d’“immigration choisie” est-elle possible ?, *Christophe Bertossi, Patrick Stefanini and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, February.

##### Articles and Contributions

“The Regulation of Migrations: a Global Challenge,” *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Politique étrangère, World Policy Conference* special issue, fall.

“France: The State Strives to Shape ‘Chosen’ Immigration,” *Christophe Bertossi*, in the framework of the *Politiche Migratorie e Modelli di Società*, CeSPI, Roma.

“L’ethnicité dans les armées françaises,” *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Hommes et migrations*, n° 1276 (*Soldats de France* section) November-December.

“La diversité dans les armées françaises,” *Christophe Bertossi*, in *À chacun ses étrangers ? En France et en Allemagne de 1871 à nos jours*, Arles, Actes Sud/Cité nationale d’histoire de l’immigration.

---

#### Health and Environment

##### Working Paper

Securitization of Health and Environmental Issues: Process and Effects. A Research Outline, *Aline Lebœuf and Emma Broughton*, May.

##### Article

“Local Momentum for Global Governance: the Management of Transboundary Pollution. The Baia Mare Cyanide Spill, Romania 2000,” *Marion Marmorat*, in *Health and Environment Reports*, n° 1, November.

# Conferences and Debates

## January

### January 11 – The Eastern Dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy: a Romanian Approach

Breakfast-debate with *Adrian Cioroianu*, Foreign Minister of Romania.

Chair: *Jacques Mistral*.

### January 16 – “Supercapitalism,” the Forthcoming Conflict Between Corporations and Citizens?

Breakfast-debate with *Robert Reich*, former Secretary of Labor in the Clinton Administration, Professor of public policy at the University of California at Berkeley, and *Éric Le Boucher*, Editorial writer at *Le Monde*.

Chair: *Jacques Mistral*.

### January 22 – Pakistan Today

Conference-debate with *Pervez Musharraf*, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

## February

### February 4 – The Balkans in the EU, or the EU in the Balkans?

Conference-debate with *Antonio Milososki*, Foreign Minister of Macedonia.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

### February 14 – Franco-German Relations on the Eve of the French EU Presidency

Conference-debate with *Nicole Fontaine*, Member of the European Parliament, former President of the European Parliament (1999-2002).

Chair: *Hans Stark*.

### 18 February – The Russian Presidential Elections: Political and Economic Implications

Breakfast-debate with *Alexandre Volochine*, Chairman of the RAO-EES, former Presidential Chief of Staff (1999-2003).

Chair: *Thomas Gomart*.

### February 20 – France-Algeria: a Way Out of the Memory Conflict

Conference-debate with *Benjamin Stora*, Professor of North African history at INALCO and author of: *Les mots de la colonisation* (ed.) (Toulouse, Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2008).

Chair: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

## March

### March 6 – Hungary: From One Transition to Another

Breakfast-debate with *Laszlo Nikicser*, Ambassador of Hungary to France, *Jean-René Cougard*, Chief of the Economic Mission of Budapest, *Sandor Richter*, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, *Paul Gradwohl*, University of Nancy 2.

Chair: *Peter Jankowitsch*, General Secretary of the CFA.

### March 11 – The Mediterranean Union Initiative: the Maghreb's Opinion

Breakfast-debate with *Hassan Abouyoub*, Former Minister, Ambassador-at-Large, Morocco, *Alain Le Roy*, Ambassador in charge of the Union for the Mediterranean, *Chekib Nouira*, President of the Arab Institute of Business Managers.

Chair: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* and *Jacques Mistral*.

### March 12 – NATO: After Bucharest

Conference-debate with *Jean-François Bureau*, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

### March 27 – Heroic Conservatism: What Future?

Breakfast-debate with *Michael Gerson*, Roger Hertog Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and Editorial writer at the *Washington Post*.

Chair: *Jacques Mistral*.

### March 31 – Bosnia and Herzegovina's Progress on Its Path Towards Euro-Atlantic Integrations

Conference-debate with *Sven Alkalaj*, Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Chair: *Éliane Mossé*.

## April

### April 7 – In the Post-Bush Era, Will High Expectations Endanger the Franco-American Relationship?

Debate organized in partnership with *The Economist*. With *Charles Grant*, Director, Centre for European Reform, *Thomas Klau*, Editorial Director, European Council on Foreign Relations, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri, *Hubert Védrine*, former French Foreign Minister.

Chair: *Sophie Pedder*, Paris Bureau Chief, *The Economist*.

### April 9 – The Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic

Conference-debate with *Karel Schwarzenberg*, Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

### April 14 – Is a “Chosen Immigration” Policy Also a Policy of Integration?

Breakfast-debate with *Maxime Tandonnet*, Advisor on Immigration and Integration, Cabinet of the President of the Republic of France, and *Christophe Bertossi*.

### April 17 – Russia Is Back: How Did Putin Do It?

Breakfast-debate with *Marshall Goldman*, Davis Professor of Russian Economics, Associate Director of the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies.

Chair: *Thomas Gomart*.

### April 17 – The Collapse of Bipartisanship and Its Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy

Conference-debate with *Charles Kupchan*, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations and Professor of international relations at Georgetown University.

Chair: *Jacques Mistral*.

### April 21 – The European Union on the International Stage

Conference-debate with *Cecilia Malmström*, Swedish Minister of European Affairs.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

### April 24 – Evolving Global Issues and the Role of Military Power

Conference-debate organized by the Defense Research Unit (LRD) at Ifri. With *Michael W. Wynne*, Secretary of the United States Air Force.

Chair: *Jacques Mistral*.

### April 30 – US Perspectives on Sustainable Development

Breakfast-debate with *Stephen L. Johnson*, Administrator at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Chair: *Jacques Mistral*.

## May

### May 7 – The Treaty of Lisbon: Citizens, Parliaments, the Union

Breakfast-debate with *Guéorgui Pirinski*, President of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

Chair: *Éliane Mossé*.

### May 15 – Russia and the West: the Stakes of Memory

Breakfast-debate with *Natalia Narotchnitskaia*, former Member of the Duma (2003-2007), author of *Que reste-t-il de notre victoire ?* (Paris, Éditions des Syrtes, 2008), *Georges Nivat*, Chief Administrative Officer of the Lomonosov Moscow State University and author of *Vivre en russe* (Paris, L'Âge d'homme, 2007) and *Thomas Gomart*.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

## May 26 – Afghanistan: Stabilization Put to the Test

Round table with *Nadjibulah Djanbaz*, Advisor to the Supreme Court, Kabul, *Alain Boinet*, President/Founder of Solidarités, *Étienne de Durand*.

Chair: *Dominique Moïsi*.

## June

### June 4 – The Subprime Crisis... and After?

Breakfast-debate with *Jacques de Larosière*, Advisor, BNP Paribas.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

### June 12 – The Transfer of Migrants: Links Between Migration Policies and the Development of Origin Countries

Breakfast-debate with *Jean-Pierre Garson*, Head of the Non-Member Economics and International Migration Division, OECD, and *Guillaume Almeras*, Consultant, BGV Consulting, Member of the Institut de prospective et d'étude pour la Méditerranée.

Chair: *Christophe Bertossi*.

### June 12 – Considerations About America Before the Presidential Elections

Conference-debate with *Stanley Hoffmann*, Professor at Harvard University.

Chair: *Dominique Moïsi*.

### June 13 – India's Africa Policy

Breakfast-debate with *Anand Sharma*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, India.

Chair: *Xavier de Villepin*, former Chairman of the French Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## June 18 – Security and Climate Change

Conference-debate with General *Gordon Sullivan*, former US Chief of Staff of the Army and current President of the Association of the United States Army, and *Hubert Védrine*, former French Foreign Minister.

Chair: *Dominique Moïsi*.

## June 26 – The Rise of Casteist and Regional Parties in India

Round table with *Zoya Hasan*, Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University of New Delhi (JNU), *Max-Jean Zins*, Researcher at CERI, *Balveer Arora*, Professor at JNU, *Dominique Girard*, Diplomatic Government Advisor and former French Ambassador to India, *Jean-Luc Racine*, Research Director of CNRS/EHESS.

Chair: *Olivier Louis*.

## July

### July 2 – Franco-German Economic Dialogue: Overcoming Disagreements

Round table organized by DFI (Deutsch-Französisches Institut in Ludwigsburg), Cerfa and the "Economic Studies" program at Ifri. With *Jean Pisani-Ferry*, Director of the Bruegel Institute (Brussels), *Andreas Schwab*, Member of the European Parliament (EPP Group),

*Henrik Utterwedde*, Director of DFI, and *Jacques Mistral*.

Chair: *Hans Stark*.

### July 4 – The Syrian Policy: Towards a New Trend

Conference-debate with *Walid Al-Mouallem*, Foreign Minister of Syria.

Chair: *Denis Bauchard*.

## September

### September 15 – What Role Should the EU Play in Central Asia?

Breakfast-debate with Ambassador *Pierre Morel*, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, *Oksana Antonenko*, Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and *Didier Chaudet*.

Chair: *Thomas Gomart*.

### September 18 – RAMSES 2009 Release: Economic Turmoil and Global Geopolitics

Event held for the release of *RAMSES 2009*.

Opening: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

With *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, *Jacques Mistral*, *Éric Le Boucher*, Economic Editorial writer at *Le Monde*, *André Lévy-Lang*, Associate Professor at the University of Paris-Dauphine, *Jean-Hervé Lorenzi*, Professor at the University of Paris-Dauphine, Chairman of the Cercle des économistes, *Cécile Kérébel*, *Valérie Niquet*, *Jean-Luc Racine*, Research Director of CNRS (CEIAS), *Marianne Péron-Doise*, Asian Bureau Chief with the Delegation for Strategic Affairs (DAS) at the French Ministry of Defense, and *Céline Pajon*.

### September 30 – Poland, a New Regional EU Power?

Breakfast-debate with *Tomasz Orłowski*, Polish Ambassador in France, *Jérôme Baconin*, Economic Advisor for Central Europe and Baltic States at the Economic Mission to Warsaw, and *Krzysztof Soloch*.

Chair: *Dominique Moïsi*.

## October

### October 15 – The Stakes of the American Presidential Elections

Conference-debate with *Steven Erlanger*, Paris Bureau Chief for the *New York Times*, *André Kaspi*, Professor Emeritus at the Sorbonne, author of *Comprendre les États-Unis d'aujourd'hui*, *Jacques Mistral*, author of *La Troisième Révolution américaine*.

Chair: *François Bujon de l'Estang*, former French Ambassador to Washington, President of Citigroup France.

## October 23 – Between Russia and Europe: the Stakes of the Caucasian Crisis

Conference-debate with *Thomas Gomart*, *Dominique Moïsi*, *William Ramsay* and *Dorothee Schmid*.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

## November

### November 5 – Twenty Years That Disrupted the World. From Paris to Beijing

Conference-debate with *Thierry de Montbrial*, author of *Vingt ans qui bouleversèrent le monde. De Berlin à Pékin* (Paris, Dunod, 2008).

### November 18 – Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine: the Middle East in the New US Administration's Agenda

Breakfast-debate with *Robert Malley*, Middle East Program Director, International Crisis Group, former Special Assistant to President Clinton for Arab-Israeli Affairs, and *Peter Harling*, Iraq-Syria-Lebanon Project Director, International Crisis Group.

Chair: *Dominique David*.

## December

### December 2 – Do Emotions Govern the World?

Conference-debate with *Dominique Moïsi*, author of *La Géopolitique de l'émotion* (Paris, Flammarion, 2008).

Chair: *Dominique David*.

### December 9 – The Enterprise, a Vehicle for Institutional Change in the Maghreb?

Breakfast-debate with *Nassim Kerdjoudji*, General Manager of NetSkills, President of CARE (Cercle d'action et de réflexion autour de l'entreprise) Club, Algiers, *Larbi Jaidi*, Professor at Rabat University, President of the Bouabid Foundation, Salé.

Chair: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*

### December 9 – What is the Future of the War on Terror?

Conference-debate with *Ian Shapiro*, Professor at Yale University.

Chair: *Marc Hecker*.

*N.B.: only public conferences are mentioned here. Other events (seminars, round tables, closed meetings) are presented in the Research section of this report.*

The logo for Ifri, consisting of the letters 'Ifri' in a bold, black, sans-serif font, is contained within a white circular shape with a thick blue border. This circle is partially overlapping a larger, light blue circular shape that also has a thick blue border.

**Ifri**

**Team**

**Board of directors**

**Advisory Board**

**Financial Appendix**

# Team

(as at December 31, 2008)

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, President  
Thérèse Vigne, Assistant  
Doïna Romanenko, Assistant

**Dominique David**, Executive Vice-President  
Nadia Fraioli, Assistant

**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor  
**Song-Nim Kwon**, Advisor to the President  
**Natacha Crance**, Communications/Media Relations Officer

## Research

### Europe

#### Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Hans Stark, Secretary General  
Claire Demesmay, Research Fellow  
Anne-Lise Barrière, Assistant Research Fellow  
Nadège Lubin, Assistant

#### French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

Éliane Mossé, Advisor

#### “French Presidency of the European Union” Program

Olivier Louis, Head of the Program  
Céline Bochet, Assistant

#### Ifri Brussels

Susanne Nies, Head of Ifri Brussels  
Cécile Kérébel, Research Fellow  
Christian Schülke, Assistant Research Fellow  
Adelaïde Boots, Assistant

### Russia/NIS Center

Thomas Gomart, Director  
Tatiana Kastueva-Jean, Research Fellow  
Didier Chaudet, Research Fellow  
Adrian Dellecker, Associate Research Fellow  
Dominic Fean, Assistant Research Fellow  
Catherine Méniane, Assistant

### Ifri Asia Center

Valérie Niquet, Director  
Hélène Le Bail, Research Fellow  
Françoise Nicolas, Senior Economist  
Céline Pajon, Assistant Research Fellow

### India Program

Olivier Louis, Head of the Program  
Raphaël Gutmann, Assistant Research Fellow

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean Programs

Denis Bauchard, Advisor  
Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Head of the North Africa Program, Research Fellow  
Dorothee Schmid, Head of the Contemporary Turkey Program, Research Fellow  
Clément Therme, Assistant Research Fellow, Iran Program  
Jeanne Frey, Assistant

### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Alain Antil, Head of the Program  
Sylvain Touati, Assistant Research Fellow

### United States Program

Jacques Mistral, Coordinator

### Transatlantic Program

Dominique Moïsi, Scientific Coordinator

### Security Studies Center

Étienne de Durand, Director  
Corentin Brustlein, Research Fellow  
Marc Hecker, Research Fellow  
Aline Lebœuf, Research Fellow  
Kerry Longhurst, Scholar in residence at Ifri  
Jolyon Howorth, Associate Research Fellow  
Krzysztof Soloch, Associate Research Fellow  
Françoise Thomas, Assistant

### Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Étienne de Durand, Head of the Unit  
Laurent Fromaget, Research Fellow  
Aline Lebœuf, Research Fellow  
Anne-Henry Budan de Russé, Research Fellow  
Françoise Thomas, Assistant

### “Economic Studies” Program

Jacques Mistral, Director  
Françoise Nicolas, Senior Economist  
Céline Bochet, Assistant

### “European Governance and the Geopolitics of Energy” Program

Jacques Lesourne, Chairman of the Scientific Committee  
William C. Ramsay, Program Director  
Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Program Coordinator, Research Fellow  
Susanne Nies, Research Fellow  
Cécile Kérébel, Research Fellow  
Jan Horst Keppler, Associate Research Fellow  
Martine Breux, Assistant

### “Space” Program

Laurence Nardon, Head of the Program  
Martine Breux, Assistant

### “Migrations, Identities, Citizenship” Program

Christophe Bertossi, Head of the Program  
Dorothee Prud'homme, Assistant Research Fellow

### “Health and Environment” Program

Aline Lebœuf, Head of the Program  
Emma Broughton, Assistant Research Fellow

### “Sport and International Relations” Program

Valérie Amant, Head of the Program  
Nadège Lubin, Assistant

*Researcher biographies are available at [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)*

### RAMSES

Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges, Co-editors  
Marie-Claire Bani-Amer, Assistant

### Politique étrangère

Dominique David, Editor-in-Chief

### Publishing Department

Delphine Renard, Head  
Marielle Roubach, Editorial Assistant  
David Rochefort, Editorial Assistant

### Library and Resource Service

Olivier Javay, Head  
Daniel Marier  
Azra Isakovich

## Development

### Development Office

Brynhild Dumas, Vice-President for Development  
Dominique Desgranges, Prospect Researcher  
Cécile Campagne, Corporate Membership Relations  
Marie-France Feigenbaum, Individual and Embassy Membership Relations

### Finance and Administration Office

Valérie Genin, Vice-President for Finance and Administration  
Alexandre Houdayer, Deputy to the Vice-President  
Françoise Henry, Assistant

### Accounting

Annie Acher, Accountant  
Nathalie Reculon-Dupont, Accountant

### Facilities and Security

Nathalie Hartmann, Head  
Selim Bouabsa, Mhenna Larbes, Technical Assistants  
Barabara M'Chiri, Noumouni Keïta, Receptionists  
Alex Maleau, Service Engineer

### Information Systems

Daniel Safon, Supervisor

# Board of Directors

(as at December 31, 2008)

## Chairman

**Bertrand Collomb**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Honorary Chairman of Lafarge

## Deputy Chairman and Secretary

**Xavier de Villepin**, Honorary Member of the Parliament

## Deputy Chairman and Treasurer

**Pierre Joxe**, former Minister, Member of the Constitutional Council

## Members

**Robert Badinter**, former Minister, Senator

**François Bujon de l'Estang**, Ambassador of France, Chairman of Citigroup France

**Michel Camdessus**, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, former Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)

**Jean-Claude Casanova**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Director of the journal *Commentaire*

**Alain Dejammet**, Ambassador of France

**Bertrand Dufourcq**, Ambassador of France, Honorary Chairman of the Fondation de France

**Alain Dupont**, Chairman of SMAvie BTP

**Denis Gautier-Sauvagnac**, former Managing Director of the Union of Metallurgies Industries (UIMM)

**Jean-Pierre Hansen**, Senior Executive Vice-President of Operations at Suez

**Alain Lamassoure**, former Minister, Member of the European Parliament

**André Lévy-Lang**, Associate Professor Emeritus, University of Paris IX-Dauphine

**Philippe Marini**, Senator, General Rapporteur of the Finance Committee

**Christine Ockrent**, journalist, writer

**Jean Peyrelevade**, Vice-Chairman, Leonardo France

**Jean Rannou**, former Air Force Chief of Staff

**Louis Schweitzer**, President of the Haute Autorité de lutte contre les discriminations et pour l'égalité (HALDE)

**Simone Veil**, Member of the Académie française, former State Minister, former President of the European Parliament

**André Villeneuve**, Chairman of Euronext.LIFFE

# Advisory Board

(as at December 31, 2008)

## Chairman

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, President of Ifri

## Members

**Vladimir Baranovsky**, Deputy Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow

**François Bujon de l'Estang**, Ambassador of France, Chairman of Citigroup France

**Jean-Claude Casanova**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Director of the journal *Commentaire*

**Bertrand Collomb**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Honorary Chairman of Lafarge

**Thérèse Delpech**, Director of Strategic Studies, the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA)

**Vincent Desportes**, Major General, Director of the Collège interarmées de défense (CID)

**Pierre Jacquet**, Executive Director, French Development Agency (Agence française de développement - AFD)

**Karl Kaiser**, former Director of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für auswärtige Politik (DGAP) Research Institute, Berlin

**Jean Klein**, Professor Emeritus at the University of Paris I

**Pierre Lévy**, Director of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision - CAP), French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs

**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor to Ifri

**Jean-Christophe Romer**, Director of the Center for the Study of Defense History (Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense - CEHD)

**Simon Serfaty**, Professor of Norfolk University, holder of the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington

# Financial Appendix

## Balance sheet (euros)

ASSETS	2008			2007
	Gross	Accumulated depreciation	Net	Net
<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>				
Intangible assets				
Software	172 300	165 127	7 172	10 070
Tangible assets				
Land	3 886 345		3 886 345	3 886 345
Buildings	5 829 518	2 687 370	3 142 148	3 346 589
General facilities	491 478	362 311	129 167	182 254
Transportation equipment	31 240	10 041	21 199	27 447
Office equipment, furniture, computer hardware	746 094	682 634	63 459	76 282
Financial Assets				
Deposits	17 109		17 109	29 894
Interest	11		11	11
Loans	0		0	8 987
<b>TOTAL FIXED ASSETS</b>	<b>11 174 095</b>	<b>3 907 484</b>	<b>7 266 612</b>	<b>7 567 879</b>
<b>CURRENT ASSETS</b>				
Inventories	88 931		88 931	31 381
Other debtors/Prepayments	218 970		218 970	107 482
Accounts receivable	839 873		839 873	342 032
Partners' current accounts				
Portfolio (fixed interests)	4 204 094		4 204 094	3 216 752
Bank balances	101 342		101 342	9 504
Accrued income	92 884		92 884	62 535
<b>TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS</b>	<b>5 546 093</b>		<b>5 546 093</b>	<b>3 769 686</b>
<b>CURRENCY CONVERSION ADJUSTMENT</b>	<b>3 522</b>		<b>3 522</b>	
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>16 723 711</b>	<b>3 907 484</b>	<b>12 816 227</b>	<b>11 337 565</b>
<b>LIABILITIES</b>				
<b>FUNDS</b>				
General fund				8 470 553
Restricted fund				47
Reserve				994 630
Net income for the year				-137 792
<b>FUNDS</b>	<b>9 544 930</b>			<b>9 682 722</b>
<b>PROVISIONS</b>				
General risks				28 522
Retirement expenditures				208 019
Other provisions				200 000
<b>DEFERRED GRANT REVENUE</b>				
Deferred grant revenue				173 294
<b>CREDITORS</b>				
Bank				64 232
<b>ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AND OTHER LIABILITIES</b>				
Accounts payable and other liabilities				984 956
Accrued expenses				100 973
<b>TAXES AND SOCIAL SECURITY</b>				
Staff and accounts payable				181 947
Social and tax administration/state				420 587
<b>ACCRUALS AND DEFERRED INCOME</b>				
				907 658
<b>CURRENCY CONVERSION ADJUSTMENT</b>				
				1 109
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b>				<b>12 816 227</b>
				<b>11 337 565</b>

Ifri's accounts are certified by the auditing firm Mazars.

## Account (euros)

	2008	2007		2008	2007
Expenditures	76 567	71 794	Public grants	1 877 106	1 977 454
Office supplies	33 394	31 100			
EDF/GDF/Water	21 819	20 444			
Books	21 353	20 250			
Other external expenditures	2 043 276	1 517 193	Private funding	4 207 299	3 457 924
Printing fees	142 164	20 291	Donations and member subscriptions	1 001 813	1 084 380
Rental fees	62 598	134 872	Publications	162 924	28 985
Maintenance	190 283	119 614	Program and contract funding	3 012 318	2 326 696
Insurance	34 463	21 925	Other income	30 425	17 863
Research material	65 758	54 704			
Honoraria and professional services	1 012 880	664 321			
Donations, membership subscriptions	8 935	7 667	Deferred grant revenue reversal	30 000	115 255
General travel and meetings	435 837	404 838	Provision reversal		55 928
Postage and telephone	87 932	86 189	Other incomes	10 370	23 925
Bank fees and commissions	2 427	2 772	Management income	34 894	
Taxes	273 236	332 553			
Taxes on salaries	117 964	235 612	Operational income	6 159 670	5 630 486
Various taxes	155 272	96 941			
Staff Costs	3 406 158	3 024 466	Financial income	150 656	133 600
Deferred grant revenue	63 000	140 291	Financial provisions reversal	10 062	
Depreciation and provisions	291 522	275 767	Exceptional income	1 558 050	23 936
Management expenditures	2 989	112 827			
Operational expenditures	6 156 749	5 474 891	TOTAL	7 878 437	5 788 022
Financial expenditures	10 071				
Exceptional expenditures	1 850 847	70 377			
Exceptional depreciation	55 999				
WPC	1 593 014				
Provision for WPC expenditures	200 000				
Other exceptional expenditures	1 834				
Corporate taxes	-1 438	25 262			
Income after taxes	-137 792	217 492			
TOTAL	7 878 437	5 788 022			



**Photos Credits:**

Christophe Peus  
Serge Marteaux  
Veldeman Photo Brussels

Conception: Éditions Trocadéro  
Printed in France - July 2009

ISBN : 978-2-86592-533-9



27 rue de la Procession - 75740 Paris Cedex 15

Tél. : 33 (0) 1 40 61 60 00 - Fax : 33 (0) 1 40 61 60 60

[www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)